NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, Editor. Without Concealment—Without Compromise. JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, Corresponding Editer.

VOLUME VIII.---NO. 46. NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, APRIL 13, 1848. WHOLE NUMBER 410.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY, BY THE AMERICAN A. S. SOCIETY, At 142 Nassau Street, New-York.

H. M. HENRY, PRINTER.

☞ All communications for the paper, and letters relating to its pecuniary concerns, should be addressed to the Editor.

☞ Donations to the Treasury of the American Anti Slavery Society may be forwarded to FRANCIS JACKSON, Treasurer, at Boston; or to S. H. Gay, Assistant Treasurer, at New-York.

TERMS.—One Dollar per annum: Strictly in advance in all cases.

Selections.

From Houston's Reports.

DEBATE IN THE SENATE

ON THE JOINT RESOLUTION OF CONGRATULATION TO THE FRENCH.

WASHINGTON, Thursday, March 30, 1848.

The Joint Resolution of Congratulations to the French offered by Mr. Allen coming up in its order, it was read a second time.

Mr. Baldwin then moved that the resolution be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. Allen spoke at some length on the subject of this motion. He considered the resolution an isolated proposition, without detail, and presenting a single question to the minds of the Senate; and it was therefore unnecessary to refer it either to a Standing or Select Committee. He considered the present a favourable opportunity for reviving and reviewing the elementary principles of liberty, and expressed his intention of going into the subject to a much greater extent, when the time for discussion should arrive.

Mr. Hale—I wish, Sir, to offer an amendment, and I beg to say a few words in reference to it. When we were counselled by the President of the United States to establish a mission to Rome on account of the occurrence of "recent political events," there was a good deal of discussion as to what the Pope had done. An honourable Senator from Mississippi (Mr. Foote) thought that the Pope had done a great deal; while, on the other hand, an honourable Senator from North Carolina (Mr. Badger) thought that his Holiness had as yet accomplished very little. In the case now before us I think it must be admitted that something has been done. The French Revolution has not been altogether fruitless. It presents something tangible. I propose, Sir, that our resolutions of congratulation should have some meaning, and, therefore, submit the following amendment to the resolution of the Senator from Ohio:

And in the eighth line, after the word Government, these words—

"And manifesting the sincerity of their purpose by instituting measures for the immediate emancipation of the slaves of all the Colonies of the Republic."

When we send such a resolution as that, Sir, the French people will be informed of the object of our sympathy. It will assure them that in our judgment they have indeed done something tangible in the cause of liberty and humanity, on account of which the heart of the American people is filled with joy and gladness. The French people have not made a mere empty declaration of their attachment to the cause of liberty. They have not declared the people free and yet retained their fellow creatures in bondage. They have thus done something which deserves the congratulations of the whole world. I move that the amendment be printed for the use of the Senate, and that it be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. Downs—I do not perceive any necessity for the reference of the resolution, and it is obvious that there must be some debate; I think that the better course will be to fix a day for its consideration.

Mr. Hale—For myself, I should prefer the course indicated by the Senator from Louisiana, but I made the motion to refer in order to meet the views of my friend from Connecticut, (Mr. Baldwin.)

The question was then taken by yeas and nays, and the motion to refer was lost.

Mr. Calhoun—I do not perceive the slightest necessity for referring this resolution to the Committee, and on that point I entirely concur with the views of the mover of it. The resolution is simple; it requires no examination of details, and the Senate is just as competent to form an opinion of its merits as any Committee can possibly be. I do not intend to enter at present into the great question presented in the resolution. To act upon it now would, in my judgment, be premature. The people of France have done much. They have made a mighty revolution. They have overthrown an old and powerful monarchy; and decreed the establishment of a Republic. All this they have accomplished in a very short period, and without any extraordinary bloodshed or confusion. All this is calculated to excite our wonder, and, so far as the aim of the French people extends, our lively sympathy. But the time has not yet arrived for congratulation.

Much remains to be done. The real work to be performed is yet before them. They have decreed a Republic, but it remains for them to establish a Republic. If the French people shall succeed in that—if they shall prove themselves to be as wise in constructing a proper Constitution, as they have proved themselves to be skilful in demolishing the old form of Government—if they shall really form a Constitution which shall on one hand guard against violence and anarchy, and on the other against oppression of the people, they will have acheved, indeed, a great work. They will then be entitled to the congratulations not only of this country, but of the whole civilized world. But if they fail, what then? What then? Can there be a more important inquiry? If France fail, under what form of Government will she find herself? I suppose it will be out of the question to go back to a Constitutional Monarchy. The Bourbon family, in all its branches is, I take it, now odious to the French people. They will hardly think of reinstating the old imperial dynasty of Napoleon. An aristocracy they cannot think of; and what then must be the result if they fail to establish a Republic? If it come to contests within, or wars without—if it shall be necessary to resort to force, to repress internal discord, or overcome foreign assailants—quite a possible case—France may find herself in the embrace of a military despotism. Such a result would furnish no ground for congratulation, either on our part or that of the civilized world.

This is, indeed, a mighty movement. It is pregnant with mighty consequences. Whether the result shall prove to be a blessing or a curse to France and the world, depends upon what is coming, rather than upon what has been already done. A revolution in itself is no great thing. The revolution accomplished by the French people is indeed a wonderful event, —the most striking in my opinion in history; but even that is perhaps pregnant with many and great evils. It is therefore premature to offer our congratulations merely upon a revolution. We must look to the consequences and the end. We must await the termination of the movement. I wish well to France—sincerely do I wish her well! There is no man that breathes who has a deeper or more profound love of Constitutional Government, than I have—not one. But I have never known a period when there is so much to counsel wise, deliberate, cautious procedure. Great event are before us. There lives not the man who can say what another week may bring forth.

I offer no opinion as to the sucess or failure of the French people in this effort. I see tremendous difficulties in the way of success—difficulties resulting from the social condition of France and the composition of her people. I see, on the other hand, a good deal of encouragement. The success of the French people will, in my opinion, depend, at least in a very high degree, upon the fact whether she can prevent war—that again depending upon two circumstances: one, whether she may have the self-control to abstain from improper interference with surrounding countries; the other, whether they may have the moderation and good sense to abstain from assailing France. Thus far the leading power of Europe has certainly discovered great good sense and foresight. Great Britain has done as she ought to have done; and I trust that every power in Europe will stand and look on, giving France a fair opportunity to consummate the great work in which she has engaged. It is due to France, to the civilized world, and to themselves, that European powers, should observe strict non-interference. If she succeed, it will be an admonition to all Europe, that the time has arrived when they must agree to yield to liberty in a constitutional and a stable form. Thrones will fade away, and freedom and republican institutions become the order of the day. If, on the contrary, standing aloof and avoiding all contest, France shall fail in this great undertaking, under a fair trial, without the interference of other powers, it will do more to put down liberty under a republican form of Government, than any other event which could occur.

Now I think that it is due all round that there should be a fair trial. The first step to that, in my opinion, consists in quiet looking on and as little interference as possible. To France, the people everywhere will extend their sympathy; but I do contend that the Governments themselves ought to be prudent and abstemious in the expression of their sentiments. If we, as a Government, extend our congratulations in this formal and solemn manner, others may take the opposite and denunciatory course, and between the two that result will be produced which must inevitably overthrow the revolution—an appeal to arms. That is one reason why this Government, looking to the interests of France alone, and with the kindest feeling, ought to be cautious and abstemious in making a move. My opinion, then, is that the wisest course will be to lay this resolution on the table, expressly on the ground that it is premature. The circumstances by which we ought to be regulated in expressing or withholding our congratulations have not yet presented themselves When these circumstances do occur, the time for taking up the subject will have arrived. We know that a National Convention, called by the Provisional Government, is to assemble about the middle of next month.

Mr. Benton (in his seat)—It will meet on the 20th of next month.

Mr. Calhoun—Let us await that important event. Let us await the action of the Convention. That will be wise and prudent. Let us not act with precipitation. I move, then, to lay the resolution on the table.

Mr. Dickinson—I ask for the yeas and nays.

Mr. Underwood—Will the gentleman from South Carolina withdraw his motion for a moment, that I make a single remark?

Mr. Calhoun—I cannot withdraw the motion.

The call for the yeas and nays being seconded, they were ordered, and were taken with the following result:

YEAS—Messrs. Bagby, Baldwin, Benton, Berrien, Butler, Calhoun, Davis of Miss., Dayton, Hunter, Mangum, Miller, Phelps, Upham, and Yulee—14.

NAYS—Messrs. Allen, Ashley, Atchison, Atherton, Bradbury, Breese, Cass, Clayton, Crittenden, Davis, of Mass., Dickinson, Dix, Douglass, Downs, Felch, Foote, Hale, Hannegan, Houston, Johnson, of Md., Johnson, of Ga., Lewis, Moor, Niles, Rusk, Spruance, Turney, Underwood, and Westcott—29.

So the motion to lay the resolution on the table was not agreed to.

Mr. Allen—On a great question like this, I would not be guilty of the petty trickery of trying to force a vote of the Senate, under the impulse of a great feeling recently excited by so great an event. I do not desire the thoughtless, unreasonable judgment of the Senate, if this body can be supposed to be capable of such a judgment upon such a proposition as this. I seek the deliberate judgment of the Senate, in full view of all the facts upon which that judgment is to be founded; and in order that there may be time for that judgment to be made up, I move that the resolution be made the special order of the day for the first Monday in May.

Mr. Baldwin—There is a motion to refer now pending.

The Presiding Officer—The motion is to postpone till the first Monday in May.

Mr. Johnson of Maryland—I understand that the motion was to make the resolution the special order for that day.

Mr. Crittenden—Does not the motion to refer take precedence?

The Presiding Officer—The motion to postpone is first in order.

Mr. Underwood—I concur entirely with the remarks made by the Senator from South Carolina; but I voted against his motion to lay the resolution upon the table, because I conceive it placed me in a false position. If we had laid the resolution upon the table it would have been an act from which inferences might have been drawn unfavourable to those who so voted, in reference to their sympathy with the great movement which has been made by the people of France, and I am free to admit that my heart is with them in every step which they have taken. I have rejoiced in every movement which the French people have made from time to time with a view to the establishment of a Republic. But although these have been my feelings, and now are my feelings, strongly cherished, I am admonished to caution by the fact that in all their former efforts they have signally failed. That signal failure, heretofore, admonishes me of the propriety of observing that prudence and caution recommended by the Senator from South Carolina. I think with him, that it is wise to await the result of this great movement. If France succeed, her example will be followed I doubt not by more than the half of Europe. If she fail, not only may the chains of monarchy be riveted more closely in Europe, but her failure may seriously affect the safety of Republican institutions throughout the world.

Now, what ought to be done? It seems to me, as we are notified through the press, that the elections in France will shortly take place, that the National Convention will soon assemble, and that as the result of the deliberations of that body will reach us before we adjourn, that we ought to await the event, before, as a Government, we give expression to our opinions. In the meantime it will be quite becoming in any of us as citizens to tender our congratulations to the French people in this movement. Entertaining these views, and as there is no prospect that we shall obtain the results of the labours of the French Convention on or before the day named by the Senator from Ohio, I move to postpone the consideration of the resolution till the first Monday in June.

Mr. Douglass—I regret that the Senator from Ohio has consented to the postponement of his resolution till the first Monday in May. In my opinion the events which have already transpired fully justify us in expressing our sympathies with the French people, and that there is no good reason for deferring our congratulations till May. The same argument which is now urged against our action till May, might then require the postponement of the resolution until December, and then for a series of years. I do not suppose that the people of France will be able to reduce their system of Government to perfection, either by the first of May or during the present year.

The change of an old form of Government to a new one—the organization of the various departments of the Government—the putting of the whole machinery into operation—the familiarizing of the people to the new order of things, is the work of time. But they have made a beginning. They have made a glorious beginning. It is indeed a wonderful achievement, and forces our admiration. A revolution accomplished in three days, almost without bloodshed, by moral force, and with no other weapons than hymns of liberty and shouts of "down with the King!" "down with the Ministry!" We have before us the first acts of the Provisional Government, and in my judgment they present sufficient ground for hope and confidence that the Government will be able to carry out what they begun, with sobriety, wisdom, and determination.

In looking over the decrees issued by the Provisional Government from day to day, it appears to me that human wisdom could not have devised a more prudent course than they have adopted. They intend to effect a radical revolution. They desire to make the new Government Republican in all its principles and forms; and they have commenced the work in a manner which discovers that the men engaged in it understand their business. Never, we except the Continental Congress—has a body assembled, which has discovered so much skill and wisdom as has thus far characterized their proceedings.

Why, then, I ask, should we defer our congratulations? What credit shall we reflect upon ourselves, or what support shall we render to France if we withhold our sympathy and our congratulations till the struggle is over? Now is the time when our sympathies are needed. Now is the time when we should extend all the encouragement and support which the expression of our feelings can afford. Now is the time when the people of France deserve our sympathy. Now is the time when our sympathy should be given. They would not thank us for it after the struggle is over and the great work is completed. We propose to make our sympathy dependent upon their success! I suppose if they fail we are to regard them as rebels; and that it is only in the event of their success that they are to be regarded as patriots! Our judgment with respect to the great movement in which France is engaged is to depend upon the success, and not upon the work itself!

I do not agree with the gentleman from South Carolina, who says that if the people of France fail, the failure will do more injury to the cause of liberty than any event which can possibly take place. If they fail now, you will find that another movement will be generated which will bring success with it. This is the first step. It may be that they may leap at a single bound from a monarchy to a republic—from comparative despotism to freedom. It may be that it will require a slower, a more protracted process, interrupted and embarrassed by difficulties, subjecting them to trials and sacrifices. The Revolution may be the work of years. But whatever may be the process, slow or rapid, our sympathies are with France in this glorious work, and the utterance of those sympathies should be prompt, full, and cordial.

The fact that the people of France have dethroned the King and peacefully decreed a Republic—the fact that they have abolished all titles and orders of nobility—the fact that they have decreed universal suffrage to France—the fact that they have been enabled to act with such a spirit of moderation and wisdom, as to combine all classes, parties, and factions in France—the Church, the Army, the Navy—in one bond of brotherhood, acting in concert and with unanimity in support of the common cause, inspires great confidence in the success of the movement, and I am unwilling to dampen that hope by the expression of any doubts here. The presentation of that resolution, and its postponement for the reason stated, that we doubted the success of the Revolution, and that it was not yet safe or prudent to express our sympathy, will have the effect of casting a shade upon this movement.

I have no fear of the alternative presented by the Senator from South Carolina, that the expression of our sympathy and congratulations may elicit counter-expressions from other Governments. If Russia, Prussia, and Austria wish to issue denunciatory declarations, let them do so. Are the people of France likely to be deterred by any declarations from such sources? Not at all. But they do feel deeply interested to know what republican America thinks of this movement, because the United States of America is the only Republic upon earth, or the only one that deserves the name. All Republicans throughout the world have their eyes fixed upon us. Here is their model. Our success is the foundation of all their hopes. Shall we, then, turn a deaf ear to the voice that comes to us from France?—shall we hold a silent tongue?—shall we hesitate?—shall we cast a damper on their hopes by expressing a doubt of their success?

I am opposed to withholding or deferring the expression of our sympathy and our confidence. I believe that it is important that we should act and act now. The prompt action of our Minister in Paris presents an additional reason for the immediate passage of the resolution. Our Minister showed that he thought he was safe in acting in advance of express instructions from his Government, and that he was but expressing the sentiments of the People and Government whom he represented, in tendering his congratulations. I believe he did express the feelings and sentiments of the people of the United States, and I am unwilling, by the postponement of this resolution, to evince any doubt as to the propriety of his conduct.

I make this remark not on his account, but in order to show the necessity of putting ourselves right. Why should we postpone the resolution till May?—We cannot have learned by that time the action of the Convention. Are we to wait the action of that body? Surely not. Surely we are not to be restrained from rejoicing in what has been already done, till we see the work completed. I believe that the work is, indeed begun, and that the end will be certain triumph, sooner or later, and I pray that it may be achieved in the shortest time.

Mr. Allen concurred in opinion with Mr. Douglass and modified his motion, so as to substitute for the first Monday in May, the second Monday in April.

Mr. Hannegan said that the debate, if it proceeded would occupy the whole day, and felt himself reluctantly compelled to make the motion that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Executive business.

Mr. Foote then obtained the floor, and addressed the Senate, in further support of the proposition of Mr. Allen. He was prepared for immediate action on the subject, and took occasion to extol the prompt course of our present Minister to France.

Mr. Hannegan—There is a case of individual liberty now pressing us rather more closely than this question of public liberty, which we will have time to discuss, and I therefore renew my motion.

The resolution was then passed over informally, and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of Executive business.

From the London Telegraph.

FOREIGN SLAVE-TRADE.

Lord George Bentinck's Committee on sugar and coffee planting is, it is reported, relieving the tediousness of the dismal complaints of the West Indians by taking evidence on the flourishing condition of slave-sugar countries, and of the slave-trade; and if all the reports which are in circulation be true, some very extraordinary testimony on the latter subject has been given. We, of course, know nothing with precision; but the statements current are so important, that we give them as we hear them.

In reference, then, to Brazil, it is stated that since the admission of slave-grown sugar into this country, a most extraordinary impetus has been given to sugar planting in that empire—that whole districts have been laid down to receive the sugar cane—that Government is making free grants of the public lands for that purpose, and that the supply of slaves has fully kept up to the demand. It is calculated that not fewer than 70,000 slaves were imported into Brazil from Africa in the year 1847; that upwards of 100,000 left Africa for Brazil in that year; and that not fewer than 30,000 human beings perished in the middle passage, the victims of our slave-trade policy. We say the victims of that policy, for it is established that the main causes of this awful mortality are the crowded state of the slavers, the length of the voyage, and the want of water on the voyage. In many of the slavers there are between decks of six feet not fewer than three tiers, in which lay the unhappy slaves, parallel to each other, on their sides, often crammed down and packed in by violence. From these horrid places they are never allowed to come on deck; they cannot be cleaned, but live in an atmosphere of fœtid gases, receiving only one draught of water, and that frequently impure, daily. When the length of the voyage exceeds 20 days—and it sometimes reaches 90—the mortality commences; nor does it terminate with the debarkation; for one-tenth of the number actually landed, die, it is said, within eight-and-forty hours afterwards.

Yet are the profits of the trade so great that 600 per cent. is frequently realized on the capital em- it. The price given for the survivors can out of their labour in less than two years. for these causes of this shocking mortality— wretched state of the slave-ships, the length of and the want of water—our cruising is responsible. The risk of the venture that system leads directly to this over- of the slavers; the number of our cruisers round-about and lengthened voyage; and article that will hold an extra quantity of deemed an article of slave equipment, and, subjects the vessel, if captured, to condem- it is owing to that stipulation in our treaties that there is a want of the means of carrying water board slavers. Hence, in 1847, it is, as we are stated, stated, on competent authority, to Lord George Bentinck's Committee, that 30,000 slaves perished the middle passage between Africa and Brazil, that 10,000 died within two days after their be- shipped; and what is there in the proceedings of our cruisers to compensate humanity for this sad carnage on it? Why, the annual average of the number of slaves released by these captures does not exceed 3,000. In spite of their vigilance, 100,000 were exported in 1847 for Brazil; because of their vigilance 30,000 of that number perished!

From the [N. Y.] Globe.

HOW SHALL WE COME TOGETHER?

On our outside will be found several articles, from as many papers, showing the absurdity of the "Southern Platform" in relation to Slavery extension. The position of the slave States on this question we have often stated in our columns; and Northern men, generally, are familiar with it. Yet we are sometimes told by those who pretend to believe that the doctrine of the South is very absurd, that there still is no necessity of agitating the free territory principle in the Proviso, because Slavery can never exist in the Mexican territory.

When we hear a man talk in this manner, we consider him either totally ignorant of the determination of the slave power, or not opposed to the extension of Slavery into free territory. Whoever reads the Southern press, or listens to the speeches of Southern members of Congress, will soon learn the position of the slave power on this question.—Two short extracts from the speech of Mr. Gayle, a member of Congress from Alabama, will show the ground occupied by the slave power on this important question. They read as follows:

The doctrine that Congress have supreme sovereign power over territories is false in itself, false to the common charter of our liberties, false to the whole scheme of our Government, and the spirit of our institutions.

So far, definite enough. But does the sovereignty reside with the people of the territory? No.—Hear Mr. Gayle on this point:

It must not be supposed that I yield to territorial governments the power to exclude Slavery. On the contrary, the reverse of this has been one of the principal objects of my argument.

In these two short extracts we see at once the position of the South. The sovereignty resides neither in Congress nor in the territorial Governments, it is claimed by the slaveholding States.—So far as the establishment of Slavery is an act of sovereignty, each slave State is invested with the right to plant it in any territory belonging to the United States. The spread of Slavery is guaranteed by the Constitution—if this doctrine is true—and the spread of liberty is restricted!

We do not merely give the opinion of Mr. Gayle, but the position occupied by him is that of nearly the entire slaveholding section of the Union. "*This is the sentiment of the whole South,*" says the *South Carolinian* and other papers in the slave interest.

Now we inquire, how are Northern freemen to unite with the Southern slaveholder in the next Presidential contest? We of the North are nearly unanimous that the Constitution forbids our interference with Slavery in the slave States. We are equally unanimous in the opinion that its extension to free territory, previous to its becoming a State, is a question on which we have a right to act, and one on which the principles of humanity, liberty and justice require us to act. The Democracy of the South say distinctly that they will hold no fellowship with the Democracy of the North unless the latter abandon their opposition to Slavery extension. This is to be a rule of action adopted towards us in the National Convention.

We frankly confess that we see no hope of union, unless the South abandon their ridiculous unconstitutional platform. Whoever supposes the Democracy of the North will abandon the free territory principle, is certainly mistaken. If the Utica Delegates to the National Convention are rejected upon the ground of their free territory principles, there is no desire that the Democratic party should succeed in 1848, nor any prospect that they will. In that case there will be a grand revolution in parties, and no man can say what the immediate result may be; but in the end all will be right—true Democracy will lose nothing by the revolution, it will shine brighter than ever. Looking calmly at the moving of the political elements, we are inclined to believe that a revolution cannot be long postponed. If the rupture of the political elements is delayed so as to obtain a victory for the Democracy in 1848 the concession—if there be any—must come from the slave power. Freedom will make no more concessions in order to keep what is called Democracy in power.

We copy from the *National Intelligencer*, so much of the debate on the French Revolution, the 3d instant, in the United States House of Representatives, as refers to the subject of the abolition of Slavery. The reader may substitute, for what we have omitted, any amount of declamation on the subject of liberty, and republicanism in general, with the assurance that we copy all that was said on the practical application of the principles of the French revolution to the slaves of the French colonies.—This, and the debate in the Senate, is an instructive commentary upon the character of this Republic. We have omitted altogether those speeches in the House, in which no reference was made to the "firebrand" of Mr. Ashmun:

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

Mr. Cummins asked leave to offer the following resolutions:

Resolved, That it becomes the people of the United States to rejoice that the sentiment of *self-government* is commending itself to the favourable consideration and adoption of the intelligent and thinking men of all intelligent nations.

Resolved, That the only legitimate source of political power is the will of the people, and the only rightful end of its exercise their good.

Resolved, That we sincerely hope that downtrodden humanity may succeed in breaking down all forms of tyranny and oppression, and in the establishment of free and national Governments for the good of the governed, and not for the aggrandizement of those who govern.

Resolved, That we tender our warmest sympathies to the people of France and Italy in their present struggle for reform, and sincerely hope they may succeed in establishing free and constitutional Governments, emanating from and based upon the will of the governed, suited to their wants and condition, and such as will secure to them liberty and safety.

Resolved, That we tender our sympathy and hopes of success to every people who are seeking to establish for themselves free and national Governments, and that whatever of blood and treasure may be shed or spent in a struggle of the oppressed against the oppressor, is to be charged to the unjust resistance of the oppressor, who strives to hold and exercise the *rights* of the people, *usurped* against their will, and exercised for the *benefit* of the few and the oppression of the *many*, and not to the people, who seek only to regain and exercise their natural rights in such manner as will best secure and promote their own happiness and safety.

The reception of the resolutions being objected to—

Mr. Cummins moved to suspend the rules to enable him to offer them. This motion was carried in the affirmative: Yeas 121, nays 51.

M. C. then moved the above resolutions, which, being read,

Mr. Hilliard hoped that an Executive message just received would be read by general consent.

Objection being made—

Mr. Hilliard moved a suspension of the rules to admit the motion.

The Chair reminded Mr. H. that the rules had already been suspended for the purpose of receiving the resolutions.

The resolutions moved by Mr. Cummins were again read.

Mr. Cummins demanded the previous question.

Great confusion instantly arose, and remonstrances mingled with cries of "No, no; oh, don't!"

Mr. Cummins withdrew his call for the previous question.

Mr. Ashmun moved to amend the *fourth* resolution by inserting at the end thereof the following:

"And we especially see an encouraging earnest of their success in the decree which pledges the said Government of France to early measures for the immediate emancipation of all slaves in their colonies."

Mr. Schenck suggested as an amendment to the amendment to add the following:

"Recognizing as we do that cardinal republican principle that there shall be neither Slavery nor involuntary servitude except for crime."

Mr. Ashmun accepted this as a modification of his own amendment.

And the question being on the amendment thus modified—

Mr. Ashmun observed that he had nothing so say on the amendment. Its propriety was so obvious as to preclude the necessity for remark.

Many gentlemen were here on the floor at once, contending, with loud cries of "Mr. Speaker!" for recognition by the Chair.

The resolution having been read as amended—

Mr. Hilliard moved that the resolutions be referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Mr. Bayly moved that they be referred to a Select Committee.

Mr. Duer said he had proposed expressing, in a manner which he conceived worthy of the dignity of the House and of the subject, the sympathy which he was very sure every gentleman could not but feel, and which he had intended to move to be referred to a Select Committee, to consist of one member from each State.

Mr. D. read his resolution, and after some conversation between Mr. Duer and the Chair,

Mr. Bayly modified his motion for a Select Committee so as to read as follows:

"That the resolutions be referred to a Select Committee of one from each State, with instructions to report joint resolutions expressing, the sympathy of this nation for the French people in their struggle for civil liberty."

Mr. C. J. Ingersoll expressed his earnest wish that the Message from the President, now on the Speaker's table, should be read. He presumed there would be no objection. He understood that it was on the subject to which the pending resolutions referred.

Much confusion, and cries of "I object, I object."

The Chair stated the question before the House to be on the resolution of reference, as modified.

Mr. C. J. Ingersoll insisted that the objections made had come too late, as the Speaker had handed the Message to the Clerk to be read.

The Chair ruled the objections to be in time, so that the Message could not now be read but by a suspension of the rules. He had received no intimation of what the Message contained. The House had been taken by surprise; and, as the Clerk had not begun to read, or even opened the envelope in which the Message was contained, he ruled the objection to be in time.

Mr. C. J. Ingersoll said he was greatly surprised to hear that the Speaker or the House had been taken by surprise. He believed the subject of the Message was generally understood; and, as it had been delivered to the Clerk to be read, he took an appeal from the decision of the Chair.

The question being immediately put on the appeal the ruling of the Chair was sustained—Ayes 90, noes 30.

Mr. Haskell inquired whether it was in order now to offer a substitute?—

The Chair replying in the negative,—

Mr. Haskell wished it to be read for information; but this was objected to.

[Voices—"You can read it yourself."]

The Chair said the question would first be on the motion to refer to the Committee on Foreign Affairs; if that failed, it would next recur on referring to a Select Committee.

Mr. Donnell moved to lay the resolutions on the table.

On this motion the yeas and nays were called for, and ordered; and being taken, resulted as follows: Yeas 15, nays 118. So the motion to lay on the table was rejected.

Mr. Hilliard said—

* * * * *

I regret, Sir, that the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. Ashmun) has thought proper to connect with this subject another which does not belong to it. I do not impute to him any other motive, but he must know that the people of our part of this Confederacy cannot hear without painful sensibility, their social institutions alluded to in such offensive terms. There is on the part of the South nothing aggressive; they are content to sustain the Government as it is; they make no war upon the people or the institutions of the North. But, Sir, they observe your movements here with profound interest. They know their rights, and there is throughout their entire borders a purpose to maintain them, with a courage and firmness which nothing can intimidate or shake.

The feeling, then, in regard to the subject which has thus been thrust upon the House so recklessly, is so profound, so well settled, and, to borrow a mode of expression from the French, so eternal, that it is impossible to touch it without danger.

Mr. McClernand said, like the honourable gentleman from Alabama, (Mr. Hilliard,) he sympathized with France; like him he objected, and decidedly, to the fire-brand which had been introduced into this subject in the form of the amendment moved by the gentleman from Massachusetts, (Mr. Ashmun.)

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Mr. Haskell remarked, * * He was sorry that it had been thought proper by any gentleman, especially by any gentleman on this side of the House, to introduce an amendment calculated to defeat the very object which they had in view in proposing to express the sympathies of Congress and of the American people in all sections of the Union with France. What did the people of the South care whether France abolished Slavery in their colonies or not? As a Southern man, he stood ready to rejoice with France in the establishment of freedom, and of regular, well-constituted liberty. She might abolish Slavery if she saw proper. It was a matter with which we had nothing to do. But the introduction of the amendment was calculated to awaken unpleasant feelings in the breasts of Southern men, and to force them to vote against a measure, if the amendment were incorporated, which they would otherwise most cordially support. The people of the South did not complain if the balance of the world saw fit to abolish Slavery within their own jurisdictions.—As a Southern man, as a slaveholder, he could stand by and cheerfully see Kentucky abolish Slavery within her limits. What the South complained of was, not that other people were endeavouring to ameliorate their condition, to abolish Slavery if they saw fit, but of the unnecessary interference of other people with them. Had they ever reproached Massachusetts, or New Jersey, or any of the other free States, because they in their wisdom had seen fit to abolish Slavery within their own bounds? No; the South had nothing to say to the balance of the world; none of the States of the South had anything to do with any of their sister States in reference to this question, any more than their sister States had to do with their internal affairs.

He was getting sick and tired of this continual thrusting in the subject of Slavery into this chamber upon every occasion, whether it was properly and fairly to be brought before the House or not; and he believed before God that if there were any men here who were doing more than others to stop the progress of freedom, to injure this Government itself, which was its germ and bud, already in flower, whose fragrance was diffused around the earth, and was stimulating the nations to exert themselves to enjoy its sweets, and to establish among themselves the principles of liberty—if there were any men who were inflicting a stab upon those principles and hindering their advance, it was those men who were continually introducing this subject of Slavery—a subject calculated to produce disunion in this Hall and among the different sections of the country, and put out this light of freedom towards which with hope were turned the eyes of the downtrodden world. Is your love for the slaves of the South (asked Mr. H.) such that, for the purpose of advancing their interests, as you imagine, you are willing to do that which in all probability would dissolve those bonds which bind this people together? The introduction of this amendment (he said) could have no practical purpose; its effect could only be pernicious.

He desired to see this House come to this question with dignity. He desired to see them united in hearty cordial congratulations with France in the great political movement in which she was now progressing. If we looked all over the world we had cause for congratulation upon the advancement of the principles of human liberty. It had been well remarked by the gentleman from Alabama, (Mr. Hilliard) that the days of king-craft had gone.—The divine right of kings was no longer acknowledged. The kingdoms of Europe—not only of France, but of Prussia, Germany, and the minor kingdoms almost without an exception, were upheaving beneath the throb of liberty which was animating the bosoms of their people. It was from this country that they had caught the flame. It was by looking at us and seeing us advancing in greatness and harmony, developing our resources, accumulating wealth, and enjoying all the benign effects of civil and religious liberty—it was this view of our condition which animated and inspired the nations of the world. He should always, therefore, witness with extreme regret, when our mission was so elevated, so lofty, gentlemen disturbing our harmony and impairing the influence of our example by the introduction of propositions totally foreign to the subjects under consideration, and calculated, instead of making us an example to the world, to render us a distracted, divided, unhappy people.

Under other circumstances he would have preferred that this subject should not be referred at all; as it now stood, and, if it remained before the House, as he could perceive that continual amendments would be offered, the object of which would be to defeat the resolutions, he should favour the motion to refer.

Mr. Giddings desired to express his hearty concurrence in the resolutions of his colleague, (Mr. Cummins); and he took this occasion to thank that gentleman for the feelings which prompted him to bring them forward at this seasonable period. He would be ignorant of the sensations of his own breast on the present occasion if he could indulge in any party feeling. It was an occasion that reached further than party, and took a stronger hold of the feelings of mankind. These resolutions were as broad as the territory of civilized man; nay, further, they embraced the whole family of man. They look to the raising up, to the exalting of our race; to the enlightening of the ignorant, to the freeing of the bound, and to the liberation of those who are in shackles; they look to the disarming of the tyrant and to the wresting of the scourge from the overseer's hands, and he again expressed his thanks to his colleague for introducing them. But he was prompted by another reason on the present occasion. The little experience he had had in this Hall had taught him to foresee the fate of his colleague's resolutions. They would not pass this body. His colleague would have his aid to carry them through, and the aid of many others on this floor, but nevertheless their fate was sealed. He would say to the gentlemen who were ready to vote for these resolutions, "You cannot get such a series of self-condemning resolutions through this body." He cared not what party he addressed in this House; these burning truths would not be uttered by the men who control this Government. It never would be, it never could be; and in making these remarks, he repeated, he spoke not as a party man. He imputed nothing wrong to the opposite party. He rejoiced at the evidence of justice and propriety which prompted a member of the other side of the House to offer these resolutions. He rejoiced even more than if they had come from his own side.

But he regretted somewhat that his colleague was not a little more explicit, and that he did not go as far as those who sat here in 1776, and gave loose to the feelings of their breasts in the undenying truths and burning words which they uttered. He regretted that his colleague with them had not maintained that man, whatever his complexion, or colour, or station, or degree might be, was born free and equal; though he did not expect to see his colleague carry such burning truths through this House. We dare not repeat what our forefathers proclaimed to an admiring world. No; we dare not assert the rights of our race—we cannot stand forth free from contaminating prejudices, and say to the world that man, in all his varied station and complexion, is born free and equal. His colleague was somewhat cautious when speaking of this point, While he (Mr. G.) rejoiced as heartily as any man could rejoice, that the chains of oppression by which the people of France were bound and held in bondage had been broken—while he rejoiced as heartily as any man could rejoice that the crowned head of that nation had lost his power—he rejoiced more sincerely and deeply when he looked to the 300,000 slaves, bound down by chains that were festering and rusting into the flesh, and considered what their feelings must be when the news was carried to them that the hour of their freedom approached. Had he the eloquence of a Patrick Henry, and the inspiration of an ancient Roman, he could not give expression to the feelings of his heart when he read the decree of the Provisional Government of France that its colonial Slavery was abolished. But he was humbled and mortified that his colleague dared not allude to those 300,000 men, women, and children, who for ages have groaned and sighed and wept in Slavery, but who now were soon to stand forth in all the dignity of mankind. They will remain no longer in the capacity of chattels, to be bought and sold, but they will be raised to the dignity of their nature, the dignity of man, and to the enjoyment of those rights from which they have been so long debarred. When the glad tidings were conveyed to those husbands and wives, and fathers and children, what must have been the emotions of their breasts? And should he hesitate to speak forth here in a Christian land and in a Christian Congress, the outpourings of his heart and soul on such an occasion?

Mr. Haskell desired to say to the gentleman from Ohio that if there were any slaves in the colonies of France, he was ignorant of the spot where they were to be found. He was informed by a gentleman who was well versed in the history of the French Government, and he believed, that this decree of the Provisional Government was introduced by M. Arago, who was more of a philosopher than a Statesman, and who was perhaps ignorant on the subject of colonial Slavery. If there were any slaves in the French colonies, he would be glad if the gentleman from Ohio would tell him where.

Mr. Giddings—Go to any abolition society north of Mason and Dixon's line, and they will tell you. From them the gentleman from Tennessee would learn something of the Slavery of Guadalupe and Martinique, and the other colonies of the French Government. If the gentleman had understood the subject, if he had looked at suffering humanity which existed on those islands, he would not have asked where in the French colonies Slavery existed? He had not expected such a question. The gentleman from Tennessee should have known that the Government under Louis Philippe, years ago, sought to throw off the shackles of the slaves of Guadalupe and Martinique. They had his (Mr. G.'s) sympathies, and he believed the same love of liberty which pervaded his heart, the same desire to raise the bowed down and degraded, the same anxiety for the diffusion of intelligence and the exaltation of virtue which he felt, influenced the heart of the gentleman from Tennessee. He was pleased to hear the gentleman from Tennessee say that he approved of the abolition of the slaves.

Mr. Hassell said he might not have expressed himself very clearly. What he intended to have said was, that the South was no propagandist on the subject of Slavery. The South did not desire to extend it, but they desired those who held slaves to act for themselves, without exterior interference, and to abolish them for themselves if they pleased to do so, and the South would not complain. If France emancipated her slaves, the South would not complain. They would not complain if Kentucky did so too. In this Tennessee would have no right to interfere.

Mr. Giddings rejoiced to hear that. The conversion of the South on the subject of Slavery was absolutely more sudden than that of Saint Paul. [Laughter.] Light had come upon their path suddenly, and he regretted that it was not in his power to express the gratitude of his heart on hearing such cheering intelligence.

DEFECTIVE ORIGINAL COPY

Mr. Haskell hoped the gentleman from Ohio did not understand him to be a *quasi* Abolitionist, nor a half-way Slavery man. He believed the institution of Slavery to be of divine origin, and that God in his wisdom had made negroes for the benefit of white men. But, while he believed that he had the right to hold slaves, and Tennessee had the right to uphold the institution of Slavery, and that nobody else had the right to interfere with them, neither he nor she desired to interfere with others.

Mr. Giddings was always glad to be undeceived. If the gentleman from Tennessee had no pulsation for humanity, he desired to hear the gentleman say so. But allusion had been made to complexion, and he desired to ask the gentleman where he would draw the dividing shade? Was it half white, quarter white, or two-thirds white? If they went to the plantations of some gentlemen in the South, various shades of colour would be found. Here was a grave question, which came home to his understanding, and he would like to know where to fix the line, and how much white blood should flow in the veins of man? If men were to be measured by their complexion, he would repudiate the sentiments of the gentleman from Tennessee more strongly than that gentleman could his. Was, then, complexion the rule of right? In God's name in what age do we live? Did it come to this, that, in an American Congress, a gentleman could come forth and declare that complexion was the rule of liberty? Why, the French people were darker than either the gentleman from Tennessee or himself.

But, again, his colleague (Mr. Cummins) had taken occasion to say that he was not a propagandist. He (Mr. G.) was a propagandist. He thought his colleague did not understand the term. He (Mr. G.) would extend liberty wherever humanity could be found—wherever there was man, created in the image of his Maker, to whom God gave power over all other things—and to man in the dignity of his nature would he give liberty. He had, therefore, greatly rejoiced when he read that France had thrown open her slave prisons. But how could this House join in thanks to the French nation for that? Look from that window and there they would see a slave-pen, whose gloomy walls, in mute but eloquent terms, proclaim the hypocrisy of the deed. There were husbands, and wives, and children, confined in that prison-house, whose human flesh was an article of commerce. That slave-trade was maintained by the laws of Congress, by whose sanction they had seen their servants taken from their very presence by inhuman slave-dealers, and, gagged and manacled, borne to Slavery. The law by which it was done was their own law, a law passed by Congress, and upheld for years, and which they continued to sustain; and yet they were now complimenting the French because they had stricken the shackles from their own slaves! Now, would it not recoil on themselves? Would not the French cast it back upon them with indignation? Would they not look with disgust on such deception and hypocrisy when they saw a nation of slave-dealers tendering their sympathy to a free people? A Congress refusing to stop the traffic in man here is tendering its sympathy across the Atlantic because he has got his freedom elsewhere? Was it no gross hypocrisy, and would it not be so viewed by that people?

He had already detained the House longer than he intended when he rose. He had risen simply to express the feelings which animated his own breast when he received the news of which he had spoken, and his deep and heartfelt sympathy with a people that had shown itself determined to be free; and, having done so, he should resume his seat.

Mr. Bayly said his principal purpose in rising was to exhibit, in all its deformity, the character of the amendment which had been offered by the gentleman from Massachusetts, (Mr. Ashmun,) but before he did so he desired to submit to the House a few remarks in vindication of the motion which he had the honour to submit. On all occasions of this sort, when they were attempting to institute a national action; when they were instituting a proceeding which would attract the attention of other nations of the civilized world, he thought their proceedings ought to be marked by deliberation. * * *

He wished to arrest an effort which was made to seize this occasion, which ought to be one of national rejoicing, and turn it into one of domestic discord. He was not surprised at the movement, however; he expected it.—Having been an attentive observer of the proceedings of this House, he had never seen an occasion which ought to have been one of harmony and unanimity on which he had not heard the raven discordant voice of evil omen of the gentleman from Ohio. Having uniformly before made such exhibitions, of course he looked for it now from the gentleman from Ohio. What was the character of the pending resolutions, and of their proceedings?—Why, they were there as freemen, rejoicing as they ought to rejoice, without reference to party or local feelings, at the commencement of a revolutionary movement, whose tendency was to liberate France and establish a free Government of her people.

On an occasion such as that the gentleman from Ohio stepped forward, as in bygone years, and sought to change an occasion of national rejoicing into a national bickering; and this, which ought to be a day of unanimity, to a day of discord. But that was not the worst. When they were here rejoicing that the palace of the despot had crumbled into dust, the gentleman comes here and tries to make the temple of our liberties totter to its ruin.—When they were rejoicing at a movement which their own brizht example had originated, the gentleman comes forwaid and makes a motion, the tendency of which is to destroy that Government whose eminent success has encouraged the spread of liberty throughout the world. He does more: he comes here and introduces a resolution which is a libel on an institution of half the States of this Union, and he declares a principle which stamps hypocrisy on every patriot and statesman of the Revolution. He comes to this hall and denounces negro slavery as inconsistent with the cardinal principle of Republican liberty; and he does that in this hall, while sitting under a Constitution formed by States, every one of which, with one exception, was at the time of its formation a slaveholding State. He comes here and tells us that Patrick Henry, whose eloquence he complimented, who did more than any man to rouse the American people to the Revolutionary struggle, and to prepare them for its coming glories—that man who proclaimed the sentiment, "Give me liberty, or give me death!"—he has offered a proposition which says that that man, during that period and afterwards, until he went to his grave, lived in the violation of republican principles. He has proposed a resolution which is a libel on the character of that man whose victorious sword and whose great moderation, justice, and prudence, did so much to establish our own glorious, free institutions. And what occasion does he select to do all this? I should have sat by unmoved on ordinary occasions to see this apple of discord thrown in amongst us, but on an occasion like this, that ought to be dedicated to better purposes, I have not been able to sit by and see this unpatriotic movement without giving utterance to my feelings as my language will express them.

He did not intend to say a word on the subject of abolition in France, but he agreed with the gentleman from Tennessee that it was a question for France, and for France alone, to decide. He freely admitted that it was a subject with which we have nothing to do. He believed that any intermeddling on his part with that question would be quite as improper as this eternal intermeddling by the gentleman from Ohio with it here. But, though he had no desire to intermeddle with the abolition of the slaves of the French colonies, he did not rejoice at the hasty and precipitate decree which the Provisional Government had issued.

Mr. J. C. Ingersoll begged leave to state that, if he were not mistaken, the suggestion came from M. Arago, but it was subsequently withdrawn, its pernicious influence on France having been soon discovered. The decree had been withdrawn.

Mr. Bayly was very glad to hear the explanation of the gentleman from Pennsylvania, but he confessed he had not understood it as that gentleman did. He, however, deferred to that gentleman's more accurate information, and would say to the gentleman from Ohio that there was no instance on record of the abolition of negroes precipitately, and without preparation for freedom, that had not been followed by scenes of woe. With all her fanaticism, even Great Britain did not emancipate her slaves without providing an apprenticeship of a number of years to prepare them for it. No State of this Union that had emancipated her slaves had done it otherwise than gradually.

Mr. Giddings inquired how gradual the process was in Massachusetts?

Mr. Bayly replied that Slavery never existed in Massachusetts, except nominally. He knew her court, in a manner which no other court in the country attempted to imitate, decided that the Declaration of Independence emancipated the slaves.

[The gentleman was informed by some one near him that he was in error, and that it was the bill of rights by which they were declared to be emancipated.]

Well, there were similar bills of rights in other States at that time, and yet no other State undertook to say that its bill of rights decided the question.

Mr. Giddings would like to know how gradual was the step towards the abolition of Slavery by the provisions of the Ordinance of 1787?

Mr. Baily said he could answer the gentleman very easily. A gentleman from North Carolina near him said there were no slaves there; but there were. The Ordinance of 1787 never was regarded as emancipating any of them. There were a few Canadian and French settlers in the territory who held slaves under the operation of that Ordinance, and, what was more, he could tell the gentleman that the descendants of those slaves were there at this hour. Let the gentleman look into the history of his own State, and he would find that the Ordinance of 1787 was treated practically as a nullity. It never had had any legal force in the Northwestern Territory.

Mr. Giddings said the gentleman was wholly mistaken.

Mr. Bayly said he was not mistaken: he spoke from the book. That House very well knew that he seldom addressed it, and when he did that he was not in the habit of speaking of what he had not looked into, or of making assertions without knowing on what they were founded.

But he would give the professed philanthropist from Ohio one instance—a horrible instance it was—where this process of universal emancipation was done at a blow, with a single dash of the pen: it was the well-known case of St. Domingo. Then the thing had been effected by the busy intermeddling of visionary fanatics, just as it was now sought to be done by the gentleman from Ohio, and his associates. There was then a band of fanatics in London who met in the Old Jewry, and who passed resolutions very similar to the amendment which it was now sought to foist on the pending resolution.

It was then proposed to aid these negroes with men and money in a struggle for their freedom; and similar resolutions were at the same time adopted in France by an association similar to that to which the gentleman and his abolition friends belonged among us. These fanatical visionaries set the revolt of the blacks in St. Domingo in motion; their machinations succeeded in exciting a servile insurrection, in the course of which every white man, and woman, and child in the island was massacred, with the exception of a small remnant who fled to the shipping in the harbour, and barely escaped with their lives. Whole hecatombs of deads bodies were piled up in the streets amid burning, murder, and pillage. Nay, so great was the fury of the blacks that their rage and revenge could not glut themselves with the butchery of every white person, (and they found no difficulty in drawing that line of distinction which the gentleman thought so great a mystery; it was no problem to the negroes;) but they then turned upon the mulattoes and exterminated them. They seemed to hate every human creature that had white blood in his veins with a bitterness that had no parallel unless in the breast of the member from Ohio.

The gentleman talked about the cause of humanity!—Were the interests of humanity benefited by this sort of agitation? Let the gentleman look at Hayti: once one of the most flourishing islands of the Caribbean sea.—The negroes there were once a happy, contented race, cultivating their fertile soil and enjoying every comfort suited to their condition. And what were they now? A wretched gang of indolent vagabonds, tearing each other to pieces in domestic feuds, and fast relapsing into their pristine state of barbarism. Let him look throughout the West India Islands, and wherever the control of the white man was withdrawn, instead of bands of happy and contented labourers, singing at their easy tasks, you beheld a wretched mass of squalid, lazy free negroes, without one idea in their heads of what real freedom was. Liberate 300,000 negroes by a stroke of the pen! Who did not know that it could not be done but through scenes of carnage and of horror from which humanity recoiled?

Born as Mr. B. had been, in a country blessed with civil and religious liberty, he wished to see these rich blessings extended to every country on the face of the globe; but having witnessed nothing but unutterable woe to result from such measures as that in which the gentleman from Ohio so exulted in, instead of sharing the gentleman's joy, he regretted that such an attempt should have been made, he was pained at it. It was that measure, together with one or two other features, which marked the movements of the new Government in Paris, which alone marred the satisfaction, otherwise without alloy, with which he had learned the struggle of the French people for a Republican Government.

In concluding, Mr. B. observed that the House would bear him witness that he had not been in the habit of addressing it in a spirit or with the feelings which he had manifested to-day. He had sought altercation with no man; he never had volunteered to wound the feelings of any of his fellow members. When the question of Slavery had heretofore been introduced at all on that floor, it had been brought there for the sake of being argued; he had never seen it introduced as it had this day been by the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. Duer moved that the House do now adjourn: but very strong and decided dissent being manifested in all quarters, he withdrew the motion.

Mr. D. then proceeded to observe that he had had no desire to say a word on the subject of the amendment which had been moved to this resolution, and the introduction of which he greatly regretted. No man could entertain a more decided antipathy than he did to the existence of Slavery; he was utterly opposed to it in every form, and in every place, but this feeling was in his breast, wholly unattended by any personal feeling of ill-will toward slaveholders. Whenever his voice or his vote could avail against the continuance or extension of so great an evil, he was ever ready to employ both against it; and he did most sincerely rejoice to learn that it had been abolished in the colonies of France! And whenever the subject should come up in a direct and pertinent shape for discussion, Mr. D. was prepared to enter into it in a temperate manner, and discuss it fully. But he could not but regret its introduction on the present occasion as unnecessary and uncalled for. He regretted its being brought into that Hall when it could have no bearing on the legislation of the House, and when its only effect must be to interrupt the harmony of debate. The discussion could do no good; it could have no effect whatever on the evil of Slavery, and it could only distract and divide the House on an occasion when it was pre-eminently desirable that it should be as unanimous as practicable. It seemed to Mr. D. that in a case like this the House could speak, and ought to speak with a united voice: but this it could not possibly do if thus, by a side-blow, there was an attempt made to condemn Slavery within the States. If this was persisted in, the House must give up the hope of giving to France any expression of its congratulation or sympathy on her struggle for freedom. He wished to speak with candour, and with dignity; and he should detain the House only to say a few words. He should speak only for himself. He sought not to condemn any gentleman. As to the gentleman from Ohio, (Mr. Giddings,) he had contemplated his feelings of humanity with sincere respect, while the gentleman's moral courage commanded his admiration; but the gentleman's prudence and practical good sense he was sorry to say he could not always so highly admire. He meant to utter no reflection on that gentleman; he knew that he had been the object of unfriendly animadversion; he spoke of the gentleman as he thought in his heart; he admired the gentleman's courage and perseverance, but he could not consider him as practically wise.

But the question to be decided was, whether that House was to speak its sympathy and congratulations to France or not? If it meant to do this, it was obvious that it must not connect those expressions of congratulations with any reflection on the subject of Slavery.

Mr. Tuck here wished to ask the gentleman from New York, (Mr. Duer,) whether it was the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Giddings) who had introduced any reference to Slavery in this debate?

Mr. Duer replied that he believed he had not.

Mr. Tuck then asked why gentlemen should attack a man who had not introduced the subject? And he wished to ask, further, whether the subject of Slavery had not been introduced by these resolutions themselves—resolutions of which the gentleman from Ohio had appropriately spoken, and which the gentleman from Massachusetts had appropriately amended?

Mr. Bayly rose to explain. When the resolutions were introduced and read at the Clerk's table, they had not the amendment attached to them. Mr. B. had been under the impression that it had been introduced by the gentleman from Ohio, and therefore he had regarded it and spoken of it as the amendment of the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. Ashmun said it was he who moved the amendment, and he was quite willing to take all the responsibility which attached to it. The latter part of the amendment, which Mr. A. had accepted as a modification, had been suggested by the gentleman immediately before him, (Mr. Schenck,) and not by the other gentleman from Ohio, (Mr. Giddings.)

Mr. Bayly regretted that he had not known this at the time he addressed the House; and he hoped that every remark he had made would be considered as addressed to the real mover of the amendment, and not to the gentleman who he supposed had moved it.

Mr. Ashmun said that he should reply to the gentleman at the earliest hour practicable.

Mr. Duer said the gentleman from New Hampshire (Mr. Tuck) had asked him why he had not attacked the gentleman from Massachusetts, (Mr. Ashmun,) who had moved the amendment, instead of the gentleman from Ohio, (Mr. Giddings,) who had not? Mr. D.'s answer was, that he had made no attack upon the gentleman from Ohio. He had expressed with freedom and sincerity his opinion of that gentleman and of his course; and he had even gone out of his way to commend the gentleman's humanity and moral courage, because he knew that the gentleman had long been the object of attack in this House, and had been unsparingly assailed in all quarters. He spoke of the gentleman with admiration, and that the gentleman from New Hampshire (Mr. Tuck) converted into an attack!

Mr. Tuck and Mr. Giddings here rose together, and for a short time were both addressing the Chair at once.

After a good deal of noise, and cries of order—

Mr. Tuck retained the floor. He said he had heard his friend from Ohio (Mr. Giddings) characterized, before the gentleman from New York spoke at all, as the author of a fanatical movement. He had asked the gentleman from New York, (Mr. Duer) whether the resolutions pending did not themselves include and introduce the topic of Slavery? To that question he had not yet received an answer.

Mr. Duer said he understood the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Giddings) as having been attacked by the gentleman from Virginia, (Mr. Bayly) and, in reply, had observed that he did not censure the gentleman for his course, but admired his courage. He had not said that that gentleman had or had not introduced the subject of Slavery in this debate; he had censured no one; he sought to censure nobody. But he wished Congress to express its sympathy with the people of France; and he wished to see this done with unanimity. This he had said, and no more than this. And, in order to secure unanimity, he wanted the expression of our sympathy and encouragement wholly separated from the other topic.

Mr. Giddings said he rose to exonerate the gentleman from New York (Mr. Duer) from all intention of saying anything to injure him. He had no idea that the gentleman had been actuated by any other than the most friendly feelings towards him. Nor had Mr. G. entertained any desire to attack the gentlemen from Tennessee, (Mr. Haskell.) He was entirely willing that that gentleman should be wholly destitute of all human sympathy, if so he liked to be, and that he should reflect as severely as he pleased on Mr. G. as being the advocate of human liberty. And he was equally willing that the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. Bayly) should exonerate, if he could, the Old Dominion from the charge of entertaining any feelings of humanity. Mr. G. was entirely willing that the gentleman should give the fullest expression of his hatred to all who felt any regard for the rights of man. Mr. G. was as willing, too, that the gentleman should pronounce the Declaration of Independence a libel on his State, and should cast so great an opprobrium on the men who drew it up as to place them on the same level with Mr. G. If a member of the House of Representatives of the United States was to become an object of attack, as soon as he uttered any feeling of sympathy for man and any desire for his freedom, Mr. G. was willing that the gentleman from Virginia should assail him with all the bitterness he could display. He had no idea of replying to that gentleman; and, if the gentleman from New York (Mr. Duer) had not noticed him, Mr. G. never should.

After some further debate on the general subject, the House adjourned.

The Anti-Slavery Standard.

NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, APRIL 13, 1848.

The Standard—New Arrangement.

The Standard, for the ensuing volume, will continue under the charge of its present editor, with the assistance of JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, as Corresponding Editor.

Mr. Lowell's contributions will be weekly, and over his own initials.

EDMUND QUINCY, whose letters from Boston, are already known to, and appreciated by our readers, will continue our regular *Boston Correspondent*. A letter from him will be published every fortnight.

Our Dublin Correspondent, R. D. WEBB, will keep us informed of the condition of Ireland, and the state of Europe generally, as heretofore by regular communications, twice each month.

We have the promise, also, of occasional letters from two well-known friends of the cause, who will leave this country on the 1st of June, for Europe.

With such a list of *regular contributors* to its columns, in addition to those who favour us with occasional communications, we are confident that the Standard will be worthy of, and we trust will receive, the hearty support of every friend of the American Anti-Slavery Society. We are certainly speaking within bounds, when we say, that no volume, since its establishment, has been commenced under more favourable auspices. The engagement of Mr. Lowell, whose reputation as a poet, and a reviewer, is second to no other in this country, we esteem as a most fortunate one for the paper and the cause which it advocates. And it is not improper to say here, that the frequent quotations which are made from the letters of our Boston and Dublin correspondents, are the best proof of the esteem in which they are held by our contemporaries of the Press.

Two years since the price of the Standard was put at $1 *per annum*, in the hope of an increased circulation. The success of the experiment has not been such as to justify, in the opinion of the Committee, the continuation of these terms, in view of the increased expenditure involved in the new arrangement. The subscription-price, therefore, will be raised, at the commencement of the new volume, to its former rate of *Two Dollars per annum*, payable in advance. The new arrangement commences immediately, but the price will not be raised till the 1st of June. All subscribers who have *already* paid in advance for the next volume, will receive the paper, till the close of their year at the old price. All whose year commences *before* the close of the present volume, and who pay before the change is made, will receive the paper to the close of *their* year, at $1 *per annum*. But all who do not pay before the 1st of June, whose subscription commences at that time, and have not already paid, will pay the new price of $2 *per annum*.

☞ NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS! ☜

FOURTEENTH ANNIVERSARY
Of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

The Fourteenth Annual Meeting of the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, will be held in the BROADWAY TABERNACLE, NEW YORK, on TUESDAY, THE NINTH DAY OF MAY, at ten o'clock, A. M.

The present aspect of public affairs in this country, should make this meeting one of more than usual importance and interest. The Southern boundary of AMERICAN SLAVERY, which, since this Society was formed, has been removed from the SABINE to the NUECES, it is now proposed by its guardians to remove still farther into the free territory of a sister Republic. We have little reason to expect a more favourable termination to the two years' war waged, at an enormous expense of blood and treasure, for the sole purpose of extending the worst system of human bondage by conquest. Whether the ABOLITIONISTS of the country can arrest the perpetration of this STUPENDOUS NATIONAL CRIME, or not, it is no less their duty to make the effort. The last PUBLIC PROTEST they may have the opportunity to record against it, should be earnest and unanimous.

The necessity of the moment should also remind us of how much of the work is still to be done, which this Society, fourteen years ago, resolved to do. Since its formation, Slavery has not been abolished in a single State of the Union. A MILLION more of our countrymen have been born to the lot of slaves. But that this Society and its auxiliaries, have aroused, to a certain degree, a universal Anti-Slavery sentiment at the North, and have made the topic one of absorbing interest throughout the country, is the best evidence of the wisdom of their measures, and should be the strongest incentive to still more strenuous, and self denying toil.

The old and tried friends of the cause, and those who have been but recently aroused to the necessity of the overthrow of the felon system of AMERICAN SLAVERY, are urged to make of this meeting a GRAND RALLY FOR FREEDOM.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, Pres't.
WENDELL PHILLIPS, S. H. GAY, } Secretaries.

Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society—French Revolution.

A special meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society was held in Boston on the evening of April 6th, at the Melodeon. It was called by the Executive Committee, for the purpose of celebrating the magnanimous act of the French people, in decreeing the Immediate Abolition of Slavery throughout the Republic.

At half past seven o'clock the chair was taken by Wm. Lloyd Garrison, President of the Society.

Mr. GARRISON stated the object of the meeting, and said we had met to offer our congratulations to the French nation, on the fact that not a vestige of Royalty remained in their land, (cheers,) and that among their very first efforts in behalf of liberty, was the Decree for the Abolition of Slavery in their Colonies. (Renewed cheering from the large audience which filled the spacious building.)

The following Resolutions were then read to the meeting by EDMUND QUINCY, of Dedham.

1. Resolved, That the magnanimous consistency of the French people in using the first moment of their own liberty, to extend to every human being within the limits of the Republic, the blessings which they had just gained for themselves, is without a parallel in the history of the world, and deserves the grateful admiration of every lover of justice and humanity.

2. Resolved, That we especially rejoice in this act, as it frees the name of Republic from the odium which the inconsistency of America has heaped upon it, and blesses the world with the sight of a Republic without a Slave; and are glad that the humanity of a generous people has stamped with deserved opprobrium the infamous dogma of human slavery being the only corner-stone of free institutions; and that European progress and liberty are no longer to be chilled by the baleful influence of American hypocrisy, a Despotism in the mask of a Republic; but that now, at last, the friends of popular rights may dispel their own doubts, and laugh to scorn the taunts of their opponents in the glad light of the nobleness and virtue of a true Republic.

3. Resolved, That, as American Abolitionists, we rejoice to assure the countrymen of De Broglie, L'Instant, Brissot, and Fayette, that their Decree of Emancipation will make even the chains of Carolina lighter, and hasten the day when our soil shall be untrodden by a slave, and we too shall be worthy to take our place among Republics, below those to whom we ought to have been an example and model.

4. Resolved, That the cold and reluctant notice taken of this Decree against Slavery by the great body of the political journals of this country, and its entire suppression by some of them, afford melancholy proof of the decline of the spirit of Freedom amongst us, and of the fearful extent to which Slavery has infected every part of the land.

5. Resolved, That remembering the noble Protest so frequently addressed by Fayette to Clarkson,—"I never would have drawn my sword in the cause of America if I could have conceived I was helping to found a Government of Slavery,"—we recognize in this act a fitting tribute to the memory of the most illustriously virtuous of Frenchmen, and one of the earliest opponents of negro slavery; that we thank the French people for the silent rebuke their example gives to a nation which has proved itself so unworthy of the generous confidence of Fayette,—and invoke the influence, not only of their example, but of their national protest and remonstrance to aid us in a deadlier struggle than even that which his impetuous enthusiasm rushed to share.

6. Resolved, That, as Republicans, we are proud to remember that in France the hour of popular triumph has always been the hour of the Negro's hope, that with the people he has always prospered, and only with the rights of the people themselves have his rights been stricken down.

7. Resolved, That, confident in the belief that the blessing of Heaven rests on justice, and that the strictest right is always the highest expediency, we are full of hope for a people whose hour of victory was marked by moderation and humanity, whom not even broken pledges and outraged Constitutions could anger to revenge, and who in the hour of triumph and strength have meted out to all others the rights they had claimed for themselves, recognizing the protection of the weak as the first and highest duty of all Governments.

In support of these resolutions the meeting was then briefly addressed by Mr. QUINCY.

He was followed by WENDELL PHILLIPS, THEODORE PARKER, and WILLIAM H. CHANNING, in addresses of exceeding eloquence and power.

After which, the Resolutions were enthusiastically and unanimously adopted by the meeting.

On motion of W. Phillips, Resolved, That a Committee, to consist of the Chairman and such others as may be elected, be requested to forward an Address of Thanks to the French Government for their noble service done to the cause of the slave.

This Committee, as nominated to the meeting and accepted, consists of the following persons:

W. L. GARRISON,
W. H. CHANNING,
M. W. CHAPMAN,
EDMUND QUINCY,
SAMUEL G. HOWE,
THEODORE PARKER,
WENDELL PHILLIPS.

Adjourned.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Pres't.
WENDELL PHILLIPS, S. H. GAY, } Secretaries.

The French Revolution of 1848.

What may be the result of the last Revolution in France, we, of course, cannot take upon ourselves definitely to prophesy. That we have seen the last of Kingship there, is, we think, beyond a question. When the idea of Royalty had still so much of vitality in it, that it was considered necessary to chop off the head—the least valuable part—of a poor bewildered monarch, it was not an impossible thing for the Holy Alliance to make another Bourbon adhere to the throne of France, with the sacred paste of Legitimacy. But when a King has been, not beheaded, but (we shudder to say it) kicked—what glue can the Diplomatist invent strong enough to stick him in his seat again, or another in his stead?

Louis Philippe extinguished the last sparks of loyalty in France as effectually as if that had been the one object of his eighteen years' reign. He had made monarchy contemptible. He had been a stock-jobber, a family match-maker. The French had seen their Royalty gradually

"melt,
Thaw, and resolve itself into *a Jew*."

During a long and peaceful reign, the King had in no way contrived to *grow on to* the People. He was in no sense of the word a Head to them. A nation can be loyal to a Man, or to the representative of an Idea. Louis Philippe was neither. When all the Royalty of France can be comfortably driven out of it in a street-cab, one would think the experiment of a Republic might be safely ventured upon. To us the late events in Paris seem less a Revolution, than the quiet opening of a flower, which, before it can blossom, must detrude the capsule which has hitherto enveloped and compressed it.

We have not been surprised at the coolness with which the news of the liberation of the French people has been received by many of our leading American Journalists. There is, in this country, a large class of persons who seem to consider that the tendency of all Republics is toward anarchy. They are unable to perceive that a Government is secure and stable exactly in proportion as the interests of all are most clearly represented in it. They dignify with the respectable name of Conservatism, a stupid adherence to the make-shift Present, and a total want of faith in, or comprehension of, the Future. This hold-back kind of Conservatism, is as if a man should carefully place a log in the middle of a railroad track to prevent the possible catastrophe of the train's running off before it reach the end of its journey. It providently makes sure of a smash somewhere, to get rid of the chance of one somewhere else. Persons of this stamp cannot shake off the prepossession that a certain amount of sham is necessary to the well governing of a people. They cannot perceive that the idea of Government has been steadily culminating toward that point where it could best satisfy certain great desires and instincts of Humanity. Their notion of Government is the good old John Bull one, that it is solely an institution for the preservation of the property of those who have it, and of the bones and sinews of those who have it not—to the end that the aforesaid property may be further increased. The only New Testament doctrine of which they have an adequate conception, is that "to him who hath shall be given, and from him who hath not shall be taken even that which he hath." These otherwise worthy persons are so completely behind their age, that the dust of it gets in their eyes. They sympathize with Louis Philippe in his dethronement, and quite forget the sympathy due to the people he had dethroned.

For ourselves, whether the movement now begun in France fail outwardly or not, we rejoice at it. If the people are not yet ripe for it, their failure will help them to become so. We rejoice at it none the less as the first Revolution in human history, at the bottom of which lies the idea of the People, of social re-organization and regeneration. The first English Revolution was a revolt of the middle classes. There were republicans among the leaders of it, and there were men who cried out for King Jesus and meant King Log, but the people were quite inadequate to self-government, and Cromwell became necessary. The only change from the old system of affairs was, that a Head was put at the apex of the State, instead of a Mask. The second English Revolution was one of the Aristocracy resulting in a mere change of Dynasty. Our own Revolution was rather a separation from Great Britain, and did not produce any striking social change. It is true that speculative minds, like Jefferson's, in advance of their time, incorporated certain radical ideas with the Declaration put forth by the United Colonies. But, if those ideas were enthusiastically, they were not appreciatingly received. It is true that the farmers at Concord Bridge, as Emerson has strikingly said,

"Fired the shot heard round the world;"

but they were not conscious of the mighty effects to flow from that little touch of their fingers upon the trigger. If our people had understood their own Declaration of Independence, the roots of Slavery would never have been allowed to strike into, and split asunder, the very foundations of our social institutions. The first French Revolution was only the natural recoil of an oppressed and imbruted people. If the men who attempted to ride that whirlwind, had been competent to the occasion, they would have looked forward, and would not have raked for a system among the ruins of ancient Rome. Popular rights have, doubtless, been advanced by all of these great movements, and the masses have gradually been getting to be considered as something different in kind from water-power and steam, though identical with them in use. It is found that the little spark of God in them makes them uneasy under systems of legislation which might be welcomed with a self-forgetting patriotism by water-wheels and spinning-jennies. The shadow cast on the wall by the last French Revolution,

"with fear of change
Perplexing Monarchs,"

is not that of the armed man of the old Republic, but of a simple workman in his blouse. And monarchs are not the only persons perplexed by it.

People have been so long used to the idea that the cream of this world is meant for the few, and that the *sky-blue* left after a second skimming, and enriched with a few rhetorical flourishes, is the appropriate portion of the many, that they cannot accustom their minds to the contemplation of any other system of partition. There would seem to be some mathematical deficiency in their mental organization which unfits them for the commonest sum in simple division, while, at the same time, they display great proficiency in multiplication and addition. One may laugh safely now at the divine right of Kings, but it is impiety to meddle with the divine right of *institutions*, and not far short of downright atheism to question the theological divinity that doth hedge pauperism, Slavery, and other such blotches of our self-satisfied nineteenth century. Many respectable persons are shocked at the impropriety of a Government which talks face to face with the people, and (whether it be from an innate respect for laziness or not) are still more outraged that it should give them a pledge of work. And for a Provisional Government to promise the people provisions—! To us there is something unspeakably touching in the spectacle of a mob (as they are called) of successful insurgents, satisfied with the hope of work. Is there no advance here? Is not this cry for work better than the old *panem et circenses?* But then the Fourierites are at the bottom of it. If so, we say God bless them! for this is the first revolution we ever read of, in which the larger share of the blood shed has flowed from the veins of the conquerors. No doubt Charles Fourier was a terrible man. He had other things underneath his skull than *dura* and *pia matera*. There were great ideas throbbing there; and, if these ideas have worked their way downward to the masses, so much the better. In that case, we look upon the success of the Revolution as certain; for we have no dread of anarchy among a people in whom ideas have taken the place of instincts.

And, indeed, it is exactly here that our chief confidence centres. Not only are the French a scientific people, and therefore the better capable of appreciating order and system, but they are also an eminently receptive people, swift to appreciate and assimilate an idea. In this respect they are the reverse of the English race, which clings tenaciously to an idea already received, but is very slow to accept any new one. Moreover, the French have always shown a fluency in adapting themselves to circumstances such as no other nation has ever exhibited. Hence the success of their missionaries. But why look about us for grounds of hope and confidence? We, who believe not in a dead but in a living God, not in a God who has ended his work, who has done with his world, and set it adrift to seethe and simmer, and at last to crystallize into such shape as it may, but in one who still moves and works in the midst of us, and uses us to forward his harmonious design, need no other source of trust and security.—J. R. L.

Slave Products.

FRIEND GAY:—I have read with interest your remarks on the letter of John Knox, on abstaining from the use of the fruits of Slavery.

Permit me to suppose you have written a good faithful abolition letter to a slaveholding editor at the South; and that, after informing his readers of the reception of your letter, he proceeds to remark: "We assure him, however, that he is partly in error as it regards ourself. It is true that we do not think the question (of Slavery) of the same importance that he esteems it; it is no less true, however, that we give the preference to free (servants) when they are to be had. To our mind the whole matter lies in a nutshell. Till we banish ourselves from human society, strip ourselves stark naked, and with our bare hands make to ourselves new implements wherewith to earn from the reluctant earth a subsistence, we cannot free ourselves from participation in (Slavery.)—We do not think this form of Anti-Slavery (i.e. immediate emancipation) of such paramount importance that it should, in such a manner, swallow up, and override all our other duties and relations in society. Therefore we cannot lay it down as a positive principle that it is our duty to refrain, in every way, from (maintaining Slavery.) Nevertheless, we think the question of that importance, in its moral, rather than its physical influence upon a pro-slavery people, and as a testimony which it accords with our feelings to make, that it is better to give, where it can be done, without too great sacrifice, the preference to free (labourers) over (slaves.) And we think that our correspondent mistakes in attributing so great indifference, as he seems to, to the great body of (slaveholders) on this subject. We are certain that (some) agree with him in the view he takes of it; many more probably, will agree with us; and there is also a large class who do not think it of any importance. We can assure him also, that (some Anti-Slavery men) accord with him entirely on this point, and make this their righteousness a cloak that covers a multitude of pro-slavery sins, (in voluntarily paying the slaveholder for the very goods which they declare to be the fruits of robbery, and thus furnishing him with the most effective motive to continue his oppression.) The question (of Slavery) is one on which we must agree to difier, because we can lay down no positive principle in relation to it; and the most we can do is to recommend, (that freedom should have the) preference (over Slavery,) and we do not recollect that any (slaveholder, except Mr. McDuffie,) has ever refused to do so."

Will my friend reply to such a correspondent and kill two birds with one stone?

Respectfully yours,
HENRY GREW.

Philadelphia, March 27th, 1848.

Our esteemed friend fails entirely, as it seems to us, in making out an analogy between the holding of slaves, and the use of slave-products. John Knox proposes to us to refrain from the use of the products of such labour, as a means to an end—the abolition of Slavery. Mr. Grew supposes us to be writing to a slaveholder, and, of course, our purpose could only be to induce him to emancipate his slaves. His wrong is primary and voluntary; that of the consumer of slave products is secondary and involuntary. The slaveholder, in his own person, deprives his fellow man of all his rights, and is bound to restore them to him. It is his first duty. The consumer of slave products, at the worst, is only using those things which are in themselves harmless; and how far it is his duty to refrain from them, under the circumstances of their unpaid production, depends upon its relation to other duties.

The slaveholder can abolish Slavery at once, for it exists at his will. The Abolitionist can only exert himself to induce others to do away with that which exists against his will. One measure, and a very proper one, is abstinence from slave-labour products; but as it is neither the only right, nor the only expedient one, it is a question how far it can be used without encroaching upon other acknowledged duties to society at large, and to that portion of it whose interests and rights are involved in this very question. If the slaveholder says that he cannot free his slave without an entire sacrifice of everything, then let him make such sacrifice; for clearly, he has no right to rob his fellow man of his free agency, his physical and his intellectual being. To such a man's plea that it is necessary to live, Cardinal Richelieu's answer to the courtier may very properly be given, and with greater force—"We do not see the necessity,"—under such circumstances. But the Abolitionist is not bound to sacrifice his life, or his usefulness in all the relations of life, that he may be free from all participation in a certain condition of things which he abhors, which exists, not by his will, and to do away with which he is continually labouring.

Our friend Grew may not accept this reasoning; but what is much more to the point, and which is a strong argument in its favour, he practically lives up to it. He uses daily the product of the unpaid toil of the slave; and he cannot help himself except by embracing the alternative we before presented. The paper in which he read John Knox's letter, and our reply, and the sheet on which he wrote his answer to us, were both the products of slave-labour.

A QUAKER BULL OF EXCOMMUNICATION.—The *Bugle* publishes the following document, and asserts that the guilt of the offender against whom the bull is launched, consists mainly, if not entirely, in her Anti-Slavery views and practices. We cheerfully do our part towards making the Salem Monthly Meeting famous:

Whereas, Jane M. Trescott, having manifested disunity with Friends by making high charges against the Society; and pursuing a course of conduct contrary to the advice of her friends; for which she has been treated with agreeably to discipline; but not appearing in a disposition of mind to condemn her deviation, it is the judgment of this meeting that she be disowned from having a right of membership with us until she may be enabled to return to the satisfaction of Friends, which is our desire for her.

Signed on behalf of Salem Monthly Meeting, held 23d of 2d month, 1848.

SAMUEL SCATTERGOOD,
HANNAH L. BALL,
Clerks.

Slavery in the French Colonies.

A correspondent of the *National Intelligencer* gives the following statement as to the population of the French Colonies. It is derived from the census taken by order of the French Government in 1834, and is copied from a work in the Library of Congress. We trust it satisfied the sapient member of the House—Mr. Haskell—who, in the debate, which we copy elsewhere, doubted whether there were any French slaves.

Population of the French Colonies.

	Free Whites.	Slaves.
Isle of Bourbon,	17,037	45,000
Gaudaloupe,	28,743	96,684
Martinique,	36,766	78,233
Total,	82,546	219,917

Very respectfully, yours,

THE GRATITUDE OF A REPUBLIC.—We find in our exchanges the following announcement:

In Washington city, on the 23d ultimo, ALTAMONT, a coloured man, in the 94th year of his age. He was proverbial for stern integrity and fidelity. When the Revolution broke out, Altamont was given to Col. George

feature of this revolution, and distinguishes it from, and exalts it above, next to its almost peaceful character, all other revolutions that were ever accomplished; namely—the *Abolition of Slavery*. Nay,—the editor of the Era sat quietly by while the editor of the Union denounced those men, as having insulted the House of Representatives, who had there ventured to point to the act of Emancipation as a proof of the sincerity of the French people! Oh! "sorrowful backbone!"

☞ Judge Shaw, of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, has set aside the verdict of the lower Court, and granted a new trial, in the case of Catherine Linda vs. Erasmus D. Hudson.

Horace Mann, Whig, has been chosen to succeed J. Q. Adams in the House of Representatives.

Errata.—We regret that a number of typographical errors should have occurred in our last number. The following in Mr. Lowell's poem should be corrected.

In the fourteenth line of the 1st Stanza, for "*maimed*" read "*mened.*"

In the eleventh line of the VIIth Stanza, for "*Great and Kingly,*" read "*erect,*" &c.

In the twenty second line of VIIIth Stanza, for "*rain, larklike, he fancies,*" read "*her,*" &c.

The comma after "*loved,*" in fourth line of the next Stanza should be omitted.

In the letter from Paris also, there were two or three errors, though none that obscured the sense. The reader probably would observe that the dash in the fourth line of the introduction should be after "*Paris,*" and not after "*mother.*"

Notes on New Books.

Howitt's Journal for March.—Crosby & Nichols, Boston; and Burford & Co. of this city, have the March number of this popular Journal. Its illustrations are unusually good; and we perceive no falling off in the character or variety of its articles. The valuable papers on Capital Punishment, by Frederick Rowton, which were recently referred to by our Dublin correspondent, are continued in this number; and William Howitt contributes an article on the Sugar Question, which may be read with great profit by all who wish to understand that subject. Translations by Mary Howitt, and excellent original articles from several well-known writers, and constant contributors to the Journal, make up the contents of this number.

Blackwood for March.—Leonard, Scott & Co.'s reprint.—Blackwood, for last month, is a great deal more brilliant than it was meant to be. We doubt if Cobden, or George Thompson, or Bright, could read its leading article of twenty pages, and not be amused at the exquisite rage of the writer, and the choice and ingenious abuse he showers upon those distinguished opponents of the Duke of Wellington's scheme of national defence against the French invasion; but the article is infinitely more amusing, coming from the press of Scotland, as it did, almost at the very moment that the exiled royal family of France landed in England. This is a French invasion, which the Duke and his Tory followers little calculated on, and which may, perhaps, defeat in as summary a manner, some of their other calculations. Even this writer in Blackwood may have, by this time, a dim perception of the fact, that there is sometimes something stronger than standing armies. "Crimes and Remarkable Trials in Scotland," in which the author shows that the real historical Macbeth is a much slandered man, and murdered no more people than Kings generally: an amusing, but very justifiable, tirade against the Town Council of Edinburgh, for altering the city clocks to agree with Greenwich time, to accommodate the railroads; and a review of a new book on Hudson's Bay; with several other articles with hardly less attractive titles, make up the number. It is in advance of the English edition, which has not yet been received in this country.

The North British Review for February.—This able Review, the organ of the Anti-National Church party of Great Britain, Messrs. Leonard, Scott, & Co. added last year to their list of Foreign Republications. To the American subscriber it is afforded, when taken separately, at one half the price of the Edinburgh copy, and when taken in conjunction with their other republications, at only one third the price,—or $2. It contains, among its contributors, some of the most distinguished names in the Church party, whose views it advocates, and is now, we believe, under the editorial care of Dr. Hanna, a son-in-law of Dr. Chalmers, its former editor.

It is by no means, however, exclusively devoted to theological subjects. The leading article in the number before us, is upon The Female characters of Goethe and Shakspeare, and is, in fact, a very clear and close analysis of the intellectual character of the great German, "who," as it has been well said by another, "when he remembered his life as a poem, forgot it as a fact."—And such is the leading thought in the article in this Review. "The act of Angling" will be relished by all lovers of the "gentle craft," though they may never have cast a line in Scottish stream or lake. Papers upon "Sir John Herschel's Astronomical Discoveries," upon "Colonization from Ireland," "The Scottish Marriage Bill," and one or two others will be deemed of value to the general reader; while others upon "Mariolatry," or the worship of the Virgin Mary by Catholics, "The Hampden Controversy," and the "Works of the late Dr. Chalmers," will be read with avidity by all who take an interest in theological discussions, or are admirers of great theologians.

Domestic Correspondence.

From our Boston Correspondent.

NO. XXVII.

Special Meeting of the American Society in the Melodeon.—French Emancipation.—Mr. Garrison disabled.—Mr. Phillips's Speech.—Treason of Louis Philippe and of America to Liberty and Lafayette.—Untiring Nemesis never wearies nor fails.—Mr. Parker's.—Causes of Hope and Faith.—Birth not maturity the moment of congratulation.—Mr. Channing's.—Shopkeeping sympathy.—Distinctive character of this Revolution.—The blood-stained Negro of the Guillotine.—Spectre-haunted Tyranny.—Intended Address.—Faneuil Hall in weeds and why?—We shut out and how?—The rights of bombazeen and of man.—The Grandmother in leading-strings.—The Correspondent speaketh reverently of Upholstery.—The de Joinville Ball.—The Prince and the people.—The decorations displayed.—Original mot *of Tallyrand.—Fearful luxury.—&c. &c. &c.*

Boston, April 7th, 1848.

You should have been here last night at the Special Meeting of the American A. S. Society, to express our joyful sympathy with the great act of justice by which the Provisional Government of France has auspicated the birth of the new Republic. The meeting was held in the Melodeon, which was entirely filled, and with as intelligent and discriminating an audience as Boston could supply. Mr. Garrison took the chair about half-past seven, briefly stated the occasion of the meeting, and read the Decree in virtue of which Slavery is to cease forthwith in the dependencies of France. Unfortunately, the state of his health prevented him from taking a more extended part in the proceedings of the meeting.

After the Resolutions (of which you will of course receive a copy for publication) had been read by Mr. Quincy, with a few remarks, Mr. Wendell Phillips made one of his very best and most impressive speeches, full of thought and emotion fitly uttered and adorned. He shadowed forth the far reaching issues of this great act upon the destinies of our own Slavery. He recounted the treachery of the cunning King to the Republican idea in the person of Lafayette; he described the apparent success and prosperity which had attended on the treason; and then pointed to the inevitable Nemesis which pursued and overtook him, at last, when he seemed to have established himself forever. He, then, denounced the treason of America to the Republican Idea, and closed with a prophecy that Eternal Justice would yet overtake her and avenge Lafayette, Kosciusko, and Steuben for the faith she had broken with them.

He was followed by Messrs. Theodore Parker and William H. Channing, both in the best mood of their several styles. Mr. Parker drew a favourable augury of the permanence of the new institutions from the moderation shown by the populace in the stormiest hours of the Revolution. He denied that the French people were without a fitting education for self-government, and scouted the idea that it was "*too soon*" to rejoice in a change, the issues of which were yet unknown. "When a man-child is born into a house," said he, "of fair proportions and goodly promise, *that* is the time when we congratulate the event. We do not wait till he is *grown up!*"

Mr. Channing opened in a fine vein of scorn of the peddling spirit in which the news of this great event was received in this country, and the apprehensions of possible damage to our trade which swallowed up all generous sympathy. He dwelt emphatically upon the characteristic feature of this movement that it was the Revolution of the labouring classes, not of an Aristocracy against a Throne, or of the *bourgeoisie* against the Aristocracy. He contrasted the spirit and character of the French and the American people, and showed the higher hope which the infancy of the New Republic gave to the nations to make amends for the disappointment of our own maturity. He concluded by bringing before our eyes the gigantic negro who stood upon the scaffold in the *Place de la Revolution* in the Reign of Terror, stripped to the waist, his broad black breast flecked with gore as he shook in the face of the people, one after another, the convulsed heads of the victims of the guillotine. "Such an apparition," he exclaimed, "haunts every land of slaves! Such a spectre disturbs the slumbers of the planters of the French sugar islands! Such a ghostly presence drives peace far away from our own Southern States! The French Republic has used the only spell of power to exorcise the dire phantom from its own borders. And there are no words of might enough for our deliverance but the magic formula of Lamartine,—☞ Immediate Emancipation!" ☜

It was next voted to send an address to the Provisional Government of thanks and congratulation, and a Committee appointed to prepare and forward the same. The meeting then adjourned in a state of great satisfaction. It is, certainly, not often that they have an opportunity of hearing three speeches of so high an order in one evening.

The meeting should have been held in Faneuil Hall, that being the only appropriate scene of such a joyous solemnity. But, unluckily, the old Hall was not yet out of mourning, and the Committee on Public Buildings had too tender a regard for the hired upholstery of the city to expose it to the risk of detriment from a public meeting. The mourning decorations are kept up to serve for the occasion of President Everett's Funeral Discourse, and in the meantime the lieges are kept out lest they may, peradventure, disturb the blackness of the Civic Woe. You must not think that this was a mere pretence to keep us out, for it was not. Other people, with no Anti-Slavery disqualification, have been refused before us. We should have had the Hall, without difficulty, if it were not for the black crape, bombazeen, and alpacca. But it is not a proceeding characteristic of the universal Yankee nation, and of all the departments thereof? A new-born Republic, the legitimate descendant, and not by many removes neither, of Faneuil Hall, abolishes its negro slavery as the first fruits of its national existence, and its old grandmother is not allowed to open her arms to welcome it, lest the ardour of the embrace might discompose the folds of her bombazeen or the plaits of her cap! Is the old lady indeed in her dotage? Or, like many a wise mother before her, has she fallen, in her old age, into the hands of foolish children who justify her not?

Far be it from me to say anything in derogation of the upholstery of Boston. It is one of our institutions and I revere it accordingly. I well remember when the Ball was given in Faneuil Hall to the Prince de Joinville when Louis Philippe was our "Good and Great Friend," as the credentials of the Foreign ministers have it. All that a forty upholsterer-power could do, at short notice, to decorate the Old Hall, was done. And the result was very creditable to them. The effect was brilliant. But the prince did not seem as much astonished at the magnificence as was expected. The quiet and gentleman-like demeanour of the young man disappointed the citizens. He did n't stare about him at all. So, as the newspapers of the day told us, he was taken up into the gallery and *the decorations pointed out to him!*

The Ball was a very handsome Ball, indeed, and the appointments as good as could be made under the circumstances. But His Royal Highness had, probably, seen quite as handsome ones in his time. We have, probably improved in the arts of luxury since the days of the first emigration, but we can hardly expect to astonish a native of the Palais Royal quite yet. An American gentleman one day, more than thirty years ago, was visiting the Duchesse de Duras, when Talleyrand, the *Diable Boiteux* of a dozen revolutions, came in. Madame de Duras introduced the stranger as an American, and added:

"You remember America, Prince. You surely have not forgotten the balls we were at together in Philadelphia?"

"Ah, no, madame," he replied, with a shrug of recollection, "I remember it well! The Americans are a great people, a magnanimous people, a most hospitable people;—but"—(with another shrug which none but French shoulders of the *ancien regime* could have executed,)—"*mais leur luxe est affreux!* but their luxury is frightful, indeed!"

D. Y.

Letter from Philadelphia.

Philadelphia, 1st April, 1848.

Mr. Gay:—In the course of events, owing to the vigorous blows which have, from time to time, been dealt upon the "peculiar institution," a considerable class has been formed of persons who are not quite satisfied to *seem* to do nothing for the overthrow of Slavery, and who yet have not the slightest idea of *doing* anything effectual for the cause;—of either repudiating the Constitution of the United States, as a pro-slavery instrument, or of declaring the truth concerning the religion of the country. In this region the Liberty party formed a nucleus round which this material naturally collected. Now this class wanted an organ to define its position before the world; accordingly, after some throes of a nature not very serious, the Liberty Herald was brought into existence. This, however, narrowly escaped being still-born, and was followed by the American Citizen, which proved to be an abortion. Luckily, the National Era was established about this time, which admirably supplied the wants of the class I have alluded to, who were impelled to its support by an affinity perfectly natural, and have ever since given it their hearty aid. I had, not long since, a conversation with an individual of this class, a Quaker, who agreed fully with the editor of that journal, that the suffering of the slaves had been greatly overrated, and had no doubt that their condition was substantially what Dr. Bailey had represented it to be. He did not seem capable of originating the conception that "our Southern brethren" could, by any possibility, practise upon the principle adopted by the "Irish country squires," who, they say,

> "Whene'er the viceroy travels nigh,
> Compound with beggars on the way
> To be locked up till he goes by,
> And so send back his lordship marveling
> That Ireland should be deemed so starveling."

To suppose that the Dr. could, from any conceivable motive, hold back or mitigate the truth, is not admissible.

Mr. Whittier assumed, some time since, that the third party is the great Anti-Slavery instrumentality of the country, and it follows as a consequence, that as the Era is its organ, that paper is the grand exponent of Anti-Slavery principles. Now we feel quite sensitive on this point in Pennsylvania. We do not make the slightest objection against the establishing of the Era, nor to the promulgation of the sentiments it puts forth on the Anti-Slavery question, however gladly both are welcomed by the milk-and-waters; but we feel keenly, and in proportion to our regard for the cause of the slave, (leaving our personal reputation out of the question,) the injustice of these efforts to identify the long-tried friends of the cause, "faithful found" to the end, with one who can stoop to edit a professedly Anti-Slavery paper whose publication can be allowed in Washington city, and who could be toasted at a public meeting by citizens of the same place as editor of that paper.

By the way, I have an excellent anecdote concerning the Era. I called some months since, on a lady of my acquaintance, formerly an Abolitionist, who, in years gone by, devoted to the service of the cause both pen and purse. A Liberty party voter, residing in the same neighbourhood, who has laboured diligently to extend the circulation of the Era, had been lamenting her inactivity, and thought that something might be done to reawaken her interest in the cause. In the course of my conversation with her I remarked that I did not find the Liberator, Standard, nor Freeman, on her table. She replied, with a deprecatory gesture, that she did not see any of them, and that she would not take them out of the post-office if they were sent to her gratuitously. "But," added she, "we take the National Era, and think it an excellent paper."

It is settled irrevocably, by his friends, that the editor of the Era cannot descend to the support of sectarianism, in whatever guise it may present itself, which you will readily understand exonerates him entirely from declaring the truth in regard to both Church and State. They exhibit a great solicitude for the reputation of the editor of the Era, which cannot be considered superfluous, "begging everybody, for God's sake, to acknowledge him a great man." It is a favourite saying of theirs, that he is "a man of large and statesmanlike views;" to the latter of which epithets some of our friends have been unkind enough to agree. I have faith to believe that so far as Abolitionists are concerned, the fate of the Era will soon be sealed.

I must not neglect to inform you of the handsome compliment paid by our City Council to the Honourable Henry Clay, on his return from the East. They presented him with a small bell, cast of filings from the old Liberty Bell, which still hangs in the tower of the State-house. This little bell is about three inches in diameter, furnished with a handle of rosewood, and is beautifully finished. It was probably designed to summon his slaves when he requires any menial service of them—such, for instance, as the blacking of his boots. You probably remember that one of his objections to Emancipation was, the difficulty which would exist in reference to this matter after Slavery was abolished. With great delicacy the Council caused to be omitted the inscription seen in large letters on the rim of the old bell: "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof."

The second concert of the Hutchinsons was given last evening, in the large room of the Assembly Buildings. This room affords seats for a thousand persons, and was filled to overflowing. It is probable that many went away who were unable to find seats. The Musical Fund Hall was refused for the concert, except upon the conditions that coloured persons should be excluded, and all Anti-Slavery songs omitted. The Hutchinsons, of course, refused these degrading conditions, which they were bound, in consistency with their former conduct, to do. They were frequently applauded during the performance, though some hissing was heard at the conclusion of Miss Hutchinson's song, "The Slave Mother." The only thought that marred our pleasure, was the recollection that they had so recently desecrated their powers, by singing a song of adulation to that arch-slaveholder, Henry Clay. It is said that this act is defended by some of the family on the ground of a conviction, well or ill-founded, that Mr. Clay will, ere long, *virtually* emancipate all his slaves; but by the others of the family, it is regretted and condemned. Let us hope that they will all yet condemn it; and that they will refuse hereafter to reward repentence before it is certain.

Very truly yours,
H. W. G.

This Week's Paper.

Fourth Page.—*Poetry:* Stanzas. *Miscellany:* Chamber of Deputies—Extraordinary scene; The Abdication of Louis Philippe; Incidents of the French Revolution; Gleanings from Foreign Papers.

First Page.—*Selections:* Debate in the Senate on the Joint Resolution of Congratulation to the French; Foreign Slave-Trade; The French Revolution—Debate in House.

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE.

Foreign.

Fourteen Days Later from Europe—Arrival of the Washington and Hibernia.

Financial Difficulties—Popular Agitations—Revolution in Austria—Outbreaks in Germany—Ireland Tranquil—Movements in Italy—Markets, &c.

The Ocean Steam Navigation Company's Steamer *Washington*, Captain Johnson, arrived at this port on Friday last, after a passage of 17 days. She sailed from Southampton on Tuesday, March 21st, and brings ten days later news.

The Hibernia also arrived on Sunday, with four days later news than that brought by the Washington. She left Liverpool on the 25th. We give the intelligence, brought by both, in full, copying and condensing from various foreign papers.

Queen Victoria has given birth to a princess. This is an increase to the taxes of Great Britain of £30,000.

A very exciting debate took place in the House of Commons on the 23d on a motion made by Mr. Bright, the well known anti Corn Law agitator, for leave to bring in a bill to abolish the Game Laws. Mr. Bright made a long speech against the Game Laws, and was followed by gentlemen on both sides, the most prominent of whom was Sir George Grey. A motion was made to adjourn the debate, but it was lost, and finally the House adjourned without taking the question on leave to bring in the bill.

Abolition of Capital Punishment.—This measure was debated, for four hours on the 14th, but lost by 122 to 66.

Increase of Marines in the English Navy.—Anxious to have the ships of the line as well armed and manned as possible, the Admiralty have issued an order augmenting the force of marines to each ship for sea service.—The number of officers and men for a three-decker was until now, 160, it is now to be 200, and so on downward.

M. Guizot and his Family.—The ex-Minister of Louis Philippe of Orleans (now Count de Neuilly) and his family, have, as Protestants, joined the congregation of the French Protestant Presbyterian Church in St. Martin's le Grand. On Sunday, the 12th, Madame Guizot (the venerable mother of the ex-minister) and her two grand daughters attended the morning service, and were naturally objects of interest.

Sympathy Meetings.—Meetings of sympathy with France have been held in various parts of the Kingdom.

The Riots.—These disturbances have not been repressed, and all is reported to be tranquil.

Ireland.—*Dublin*, March, 9.—The city is full of rumors of the measures intended by the authorities to suppress the meeting of the Repealers. The Old and Young Ireland parties met together last night and adopted an address to the Mayor, requesting him to convene a meeting of the citizens to express their satisfaction at the establishment of the Republic of France, and adopting an address to the Queen, asking for an immediate repeal of the Legislative Union.

Mr. John O'Connell issued and address to the people of Ireland, exhorting them to peace.

The Confederates, to the number of 3,000, met in the Music Hall, which was covered with placards, inscribed "Courage! Forgiveness! Fraternity!" An address to the people of Ireland was adopted with great applause.

The Heads of the University of Dublin and the College of Surgeons have presented addresses to the Lord Lieutenant declaring their confidence in the Government and protesting against any attempt to induce a foreign power to interfere in any way with the affairs of Ireland.

A declaration in support of law and order is in circulation, and has received thousands of signatures, numbering among them many of the principal prelates and peers of Ireland.

Revolutionary Movements.—The *United Irishman* has published a most violent and indignant address to the Lord Lieutenant, in which he is styled "*Her Majesty's Executioner General and General Butcher of Ireland!*"—The writer testifies his joy that the "humbug of a Constitution" has gone, and that the people of Ireland and their mortal foes now stand within point blank range.

Mr. Smith O'Brien made a speech at the Confederation meeting, calling upon the Irish to imitate the example of fraternization so successfully adopted by France. He reccomends the people to fraternize with the British soldiery, about one third of which is of Irish origin; also with the police force, which numbers 10,000 men. He advised the formation of a brigade in America, from among the Irish emigrants.

Local repeal meetings are constantly being held.

25th. The meeting on the 20th passed off without any disturbance, and Ireland, at the latest dates, was tranquil.

France.—The most startling event in this country is the partial suspension of specie payments by the Bank of France. This took place on the 17th.

It would appear that this measure, deplorable as it is, could not have been avoided. The run upon the Bank of France on Wednesday was awful. The applicants for money were so numerous that they were obliged to place themselves *en queue*, as at the entrance to the theatres on crowded nights; and, although this facilitated their progress, the last comer was an hour and a half before he reached the cash office of the Bank.

Another of the immediate measures of the Government is a decree prohibiting the payment of more than 100f. in specie to each holder of stock in the Savings' Bank, the rest of the deposit of which reimbursement may be demanded to be paid in Treasury bonds at four months, bearing an interest of 5 per cent,

On this the *Times* remarks:—The partial suspension of payment by the Savings' Banks is an act of insolvency. The workman who comes to withdraw his deposit is told that he shall receive a tenth part in cash, four-tenths in a paper note of the Treasury, bearing interest, and the other half in stock, which is, at this moment, worthless. It is really awful to consider what effect such a blow must produce on the condition of the best portion of the labouring classes in France.

In this crisis the Government have resorted to additional loans as appears by a decree in the *Moniteur* of the 17th.

19th. "The new five franc pieces of the Republic were put into circulation to-day. The Bank of France gives cash for its notes to those who require silver to pay their workmen."

Domestic Policy of the Provisional Government.—On the 13th ult. M. Ledru-Rollin published a circular, addressed to the Commissioner of the Provisional Government, which created some excitement. Its tone was deemed too conservative. A deputation of the Republican club for the liberty of election having waited on the Provisional Government on Wednesday, to express the fears excited among the public by this extraordinary document, M. de Lamartine replied that the Provisional Government had authorized nobody to address the nation in its name, particularly in language beyond the laws. M. de Lamartine then informed the deputation that in a few days the Provisional Government would publish a declaration of the most satisfactory character.

Such a declaration was published, according to promise, declaring the most radical democracy, which allayed the popular discontent.

A Revolt of the National Guard.—The grenadier and light infantry companies, which have been more or less objects of jealousy to their fellow-soldiers, have been dissolved by a decree of the Minister of the Interior, and dissipated among the centre companies. The real object of the decree was, doubtless, that in the election of officers, the ultra-democratic party should have the ascendency, and the conservative element which had hitherto distinguished the grenadier and light infantry companies, be lost in the mass. The decree created great dissatisfaction among the National Guard of Paris and its environs. On Wednesday, the 16th, a large body of National Guard—many of them of the Banlieu, Belleville, Vaugirard, the Batignolles, &c.—presented themselves at the Hotel de Ville, and demanded the recall of the decree in question. No promise of compliance was given, whereupon they said—"We come unarmed to day to demand a right; you took us unfairly and by surprise. If, by 9 o'clock to-morrow morning that decree be not annulled, we will be here, and armed."

The next morning, however, the people were before the malcontents. In obedience to the summons of the different clubs, they gathered in the Place de la Concorde, slowly rolling in compact masses along the quays to the Hotel de Ville. By 12 o'clock the square was filled by one dense throng, with branches from the main body extending up the small narrow streets that *debouche* into the Place. The Pont des Invalides was covered, even the stone arch that supports the suspending chains, and the chains themselves were converted into standing places by the crowd.

The assembly did not wholly consist of workmen; the latter class were not, as on ordinary occasions, the majority of the assembly. The bulk of those by whom this Republican demonstration was made, consisted of a class above the *ouvriers*. From 12 o'clock till 2 the crowd remained on the Place cheering and shouting, at intervals raising the chorus of the *Marseillaise* or beating the *rappel* on their drums. There was no sign of opposition to the manifestation of feeling; the guard on duty was even less numerous than usual. It was stated in the correspondence of yesterday that a large body of some 50,000 of the National Guard was drawn up on the Quai de la Ferraille, waiting for the return of a deputation which they had sent to the Government. It appears that it could not advance through the crowd between the head of its column and the Hotel de Ville, and therefore refrained from attempting to proceed farther. There was a natural desire to avoid anything that might bring about a collision.

Towards 2 o'clock, the crowd, thinking that the united effect of its numbers and its cheers had sufficiently indicated the degree and direction of popular feeling, began to disperse, though very slowly. As the intelligence that all had passed off more quietly than had been anticipated began to spread, a manifest relief of the anxiety of the public mind could be traced; it was more sensibly felt on the Bourse than anywhere else.

Decrees of the Provisional Government.—The following have been issued:

1. To abolish Imprisonment for Debt till the acting of the National Assembly, when the measure is to be submitted to them.
2. To sell the lands and woods of what is called the *domaine privé*.
3. To sell the crown diamonds.
4. Appointing A. Marrast Mayor of Paris, in place of G. Pages.
5. To forbid persons holding office from retaining retiring pensions, when the salary of the new office exceeds 700 francs.
6. To regulate voting in Algeria for Representatives to the National Assembly, making it essentially a French Department.
7. To abolish flogging in the Navy.
8. To liberate all persons confined for debt.
9. To issue the remaining one hundred millions of the loan voted by the late Chamber of Deputies.
10. To establish and regulate the Paris Discount Bank—Capital 20,000.000.
11. To place 60,000,000 francs at the disposal of the Minister of Finance for the use of the various workshops which, according to the decree of March 9, are to be successively formed in Paris and in the departments, and in all the great agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial centres.
12. To establish bureaus of information in each *naivie*, to prepare statistical tables of demands and offers for labour, and to regulate relations between employers and employed. Two registries are to be kept, one for those demanding work, and the other for those requiring workmen, taking care to mention the wages offered, and the conditions demanded. These registries to be communicated to every citizen requiring to see them.

On the 23d a meeting of more than a thousand Germans and Sclavonians was held in Paris. Many of them asserted their intention of immediately returning to the Austrian frontier to assist their countrymen in regaining their liberties. A party of 25 Poles have left Paris in the hope of penetrating in the hope of penetrating into Poland for the same purpose. The Belgians in Paris have also held a meeting for the purpose of organizing a body to proceed to Belgium to proclaim the Republic.

The Provisional Government has postponed the election of officers of the National Guard till the 5th of April.

M. Emmanuel Arago, Commissary of the Provisional Government in Lyons, has issued a decree dissolving all religious congregations and corporations not authorized by the law, and particularly the congregation of the Jesuits.

Count d'Appony, the Austrian Ambassador at Paris, has received orders from Vienna to remain in Paris, and to assure the Provisional Government that it was not the intention of Austria to interfere in the affairs of France.

Order is completely restored at Lyons. The Government has decreed the erection of a monument to Marshal Ney on the place where he was shot.

A dispatch from Berlin announces that the Emperor of Russia accepts the policy of non-intervention in the affairs of France, as long as France abstains from aggressions.

Gen. Cavaignac has assumed the Government of Algiers, and proclaimed the Republic.

The Duchesse d'Orleans is at Ems with her two sons, and a small suite.

State of Germany.—Revolution!—Flight of Metternich!—The spirit of revolution has extended to Vienna. On the 13th the Diet was opened in the usual form, when a large number of students, headed by their professors, proceeded to the Chamber, in order to present a petition in favour of various reforms. Immense crowds soon collected; the military were called out; their muskets were loaded in presence of the people, and extraordinary measures were taken to prevent disturbance.

Towards evening affairs became alarming; all the shops were closed, the palace of the States was entered and ransacked, and the arsenals were literally besieged by the people. In the nick of time, however, the Emperor expressed his readiness to make popular concessions, not, however, before numerous persons were killed and wounded. Among the former were fifteen students who were in the front of the Insurgents; immediately after the volley, an influential citizen stepped forward, and, dipping his white handkerchief into the blood that had been shed, fastened it to his walking stick, and exclaimed—"Be this the emblem of our future liberty!" Later in the evening tranquillity was restored, and it was announced to the multitude assembled in front of the Imperial Palace, that his Majesty had cheerfully granted every demand his subjects had made, "*full liberty of the press, a more extensive Representative Constitution, publicity of all the proceedings in the courts of law, trial by jury, and finally, the dismissal of the whole Metternich Cabinet.*" Metternich not only resigned, but fled, loaded with execration. His villa near Vienna, as well as those of several other members of the Cabinet, were destroyed by the populace.

Accounts from Vienna state that all was peaceful, and the people were enthusiastically congratulating each other up to the evening of the 15th. On that day the Emperor took a drive in his carriage through several of the principal streets, accompanied by his brother. The people greeted him most cordially, and wanted to take the horses from the carriage and draw it themselves, but at the express instance of the Emperor they refrained from such an act of servility. On the same day the people erected a gallows in front of Prince Metternich's palace, and inflicted capital punishment on the effigy of the late all-powerful Minister. This exhibition continued during the entire day, nor did the authorities offer to check it.—Later accounts (to the morning of the 18th) state that Vienna was resuming its wonted appearance.

Prussia.—Disturbances in Berlin. The collision in Berlin seems to have been the most serious, and to have produced the least result. Up to the 14th there was no disturbance, but on the evening of that day, crowds appeared in the streets, attracted it is said, by the numbers of patrols, both of horse and foot, which paraded the streets for the purpose of preserving order. The second evening the crowd increased in numbers and in boldness, and towards evening stones and other missiles were thrown against the sentinels who guard the palace gates. The warnings to desist were responded to with fresh volleys of stones, until cavalry were employed to clear the square. The mob retreated, and sought out places in the neighbouring streets, where they might make a stand, for which they sought to made facilities in getting together barrels and other modes of protection. The troops, in clearing away such obstacles, were assailed by stones. Nor did they succeed without accident. Two deaths were positively announced, the bodies having been found in the Spreegasse. Barricades were made in many streets, and when these were forced by the troops it is impossible to state the number of deaths that ensued, but many were wounded. The city commissaries exerted themselves, as did the city police, to suppress the disturbances; and they succeeded. By eleven all was quiet and orderly. There was manifested throughout by the people a deep feeling of irritation against the soldiery.

These threatenings of disturbance increased till the morning of the 18th, when the accidental discharge of two guns by the soldiery brought matters to a crisis. The anger of the people was fully aroused, and the attack on the troops became general in most of the streets. By degrees, as the fighting continued, arms were obtained by the population, and soon the combat became more equal, there being arms on both sides. The people defended themselves behind barricades, and continued the attack from the roofs of the houses. The troops at first kept well together, but later, some corps refused to fire, when not attacked by the citizens. During the whole night the alarm bells were rung, and wailings were heard and terror prevailed everywhere among the women.

The military force at Berlin is estimated at 20,000 men, brought together from the neighbouring garrisons. It was against this mass of military that the multitude, at first unarmed, began to fight. The students who had taken arms were most active in leading forward the bands which successfully opposed the troops. The prison was forced open, and the prisoners set free.

On the morning of the 19th a proclamation from the King appeared, addressed to his "Beloved Berlinese," in which the shots on the Schlossplatz were ascribed to a mistake. He, on his part, promised to forget and forgive the recent transactions, to do all that the people required, and besought them to retire to their homes, and to send a deputation to him to state their wishes in such terms as became them to offer, and him to receive. The joy and enthusiasm of the people at this announcement were unbounded. In less than half an hour their usual cheerfulness, and even merriment, returned, and they adjourned to their usual public houses, where they amused themselves in their wonted manner with singing. The final result is thus told by the *Cologne Gazette*:

The struggle has ended and has been succeeded by universal joy, caused by the formation of a new Ministry and the establishment of a Burgher Guard. The past is forgotten, and the King is incessantly cheered when he shows himself. No private property has been injured, and the people exhibit no spirit of revenge; they even praise the bravery of the troops, and cheered them as they left the town with flying colours and the music of their military bands. The "United German Fatherland" was enthusiastically proclaimed by the citizens. The only political motive in the late dreadful excitement was the King's backwardness in taking the lead in that movement. The old Imperial colours are worn along with the Prussian white and black. Thousands and thousands thronged in the afternoon of Monday towards the Palace, and with one voice all at once began to sing the German *Te Deum*, "Now let us all praise God." The bodies of the fallen were carried to the churches in solemn silence, under the intonation of the celebrated popular hymn, "Jesus, my Redeemer, liveth," the King, bareheaded, like every one else, seeing them pass from the balcony.—The enthusiasm of the inhabitants of Cologne, when this news arrived from Berlin, was indescribable. The great imperial standard (black, red, gold, with a double eagle) was, with the sanction of the archbishop, hoisted on top of Cologne Cathedral, and is now proclaiming to the Germans on both sides of the Rhine, the regeneration of Germany.

Trouble in Saxony.—On the 8th the Duke of Saxe Coburg Gotha, published a proclamation. In which he promises his subjects a Constitution, and abolishes the censorship. This, however, has not prevented the inhabitants of Gotha from presenting him a petition pointing out the reforms they require. The deputation was very well received.

Revolution in Wurtemburg.—We regret to say that our predictions have been fearfully realized. A peasant's war has broken out in Germany. The horizon is red in many parts from incendiary fires. The Castles of Niederstetten Oehringen, two signorial residences of the Princes of Hohenlohe; the ancient castle of Jaxthausen, on the Jaxt, which for centuries has been in the possession of the Berlichengen family, and has been immortalized by Goëthe, by his description of its defence by the iron-fisted Götz, who then headed the insurgent peasants against the imperial troops; the castle of Assumstadt, the family residence of the Barons of Ellrichshausen, and the Castle of Schwaiggern, the residence of Count Neipperg, son-in-law of the King of Wurtemburg, have all been burnt or razed to the ground.

Two thousand men have been ordered, in all haste, from Ludwisburg and Heilbronn, to quell this insurrection.

Holland.—On the 14th of March, the King summoned the President of the Second Chamber of States-General to his palace, and requested that the Chamber should propose to him all changes in the Government of the people and the fundamental law, which it might deem necessary. He had adopted this policy without the knowledge of his ministers, and the Cabinet therefore resigned, to make room for new and more liberal members.

On the 17th the King issued a proclamation, nominating a committee to revise the constitution, and draft a complete sketch of the fundamental law.

Poland.—At Warsaw the censorship prohibited the mere mention of the events of which France is the theatre. The *Warsaw Courier* of the 2d inst., states—"Count Molé is charged with the formation of a new Cabinet." March 3d—"The Chamber of Peers was occupied on the 22d and 23d of February, with different petitions." 4th and 5th of March—Not a word of France.

At Posen the news produced a sensation impossible to describe. Nevertheless, an insurrection was not considered imminent, the people being determined to wait calmly the development of events.

Italy.—The following important news is given in the *Lega Italiana* of the 11th inst.:

"The King of Naples has consented to the Constitution of Sicily, as a separate State, having for Viceroy Admiral Ruggrero Lettimo, President of the Provisional Government.

"The Constitution was expected to be proclaimed at Rome on the 11th inst."

The same paper confirms the report that a political league has been formed between the Pope, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and the King of Sardinia.

Cambridge.—Rev. Dr. Bushnell, of Hartford, Connecticut, has been selected to deliver the valedictory sermon before the present senior class of the Divinity School at Cambridge.

NOTICES.

ANNUAL MEETING.

The annual meeting of the Windham County, Anti Slavery Society, will be held at Brooklyn, on Fast day, April 21, 1848, commencing at 10½ A. M. and continuing through the day.

All are invited to attend and participate in the deliberations.

JAMES B. WHITCOMB, Pres.
Lucian Burleigh, Sec.

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Poetry.

For the National Anti-Slavery Standard.

STANZAS.

Oh how this mortal frame of ours
Is moulded by the soul!
How buoyant when bliss-giving powers
Its impulses control;
How leaden when woe's whelming hours
In sullen surges roll!

The eye doth wear not the same hue,
In sorrow and in joy;
And when its lashes tears bedew,
How quickly they destroy
The lines, in lips, to beauty true,
Of the gay archer's toy!

The step, in joy a thing of air,
In grief is all of earth!
The brow, which glowed serene and fair,
With thoughts of happy birth,
What changed expression it doth wear,
When woe surrounds the hearth!

But most the voice—the lyre of soul,
Doth vibrate to the touch!
How deep the bass doth o'er it roll
If troubled but too much!
How light its music when the whole
That leaps within is such!

And would we deeper look, how far,
Far greater there each change!
Could we but see each nerve ajar,
When grief within hath range,
How it doth every process mar
Of instrument so strange!

See blood congealed which floweth warm
In life's more genial hour;
Or back in torrents poured to harm
This work of wond'rous power,
Which yet resists, by secret charm,
The ruin which doth lower!

Oh! is there not a lesson here
'Neath which the soul must bend,
In adoration deep, sincere,
To the Great Architect—the Friend—
Who sendeth not one idle tear,
One smile in vain doth lend!

CYLLENE.

Miscellany.

From the London Times.

CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES—EXTRAORDINARY SCENE.

SITTING OF FEBRUARY 24.

The public sitting was to have taken place at three o'clock, a meeting in the bureaux being appointed to be holden previously, but the important events of the morning caused a change in the order of proceeding.

The President took the chair at one o'clock.

About three hundred deputies were present from the commencement of the sitting, but nothing was done for some time.

M. C. Laffitte—Gentlemen, I address myself to all parties in this Chamber, particularly to the members of the extremities, praying them to keep down all angry passions. (Hear, hear.) Looking at the circumstances in which we are now placed I propose to the Chamber to declare itself in permanence. (Loud cries of "Yes, yes.")

M. Dutier—I demand to have the proposition postponed, and that the Chamber simply declares itself sitting, with the faculty of afterwards adopting such measures as it may deem advisable. ("Yes, yes.")

M. De Cambaceres—I propose that the Chamber shall remain in permanence until the end of the crisis. ("Yes, yes.")

The President—There cannot be any other question of permanence than this—the Chamber has opened its sitting, and will remain so as long as no motion be made to adjourn it. (Hear, hear.)

About half-past one it was rumored about that the Duchesse d'Orleans and the two young Princes, her sons, were about to arrive. Shortly after a movement was apparent in the passage on the left of the Chamber, and the Duchess and her two sons entered, followed by the Duke de Nemours and the Duke de Montpensier. The Count de Paris entered first of all, a person holding him by the hand. With difficulty he penetrated as far as the semicircle in front of the President's chair, so encumbered was it with Deputies and National Guard. His presence, and that of the rest of the Royal party, created a great sensation. The Duchess seated herself in an armchair, with her sons at each side of her in the wide space just mentioned.

Almost immediately after, the passages to the various parts of the Chamber were filled with an immense body of the people and National Guards, both armed. Cries of "You cannot enter!" "You have no right to enter!" were then heard; but the next moment a number of men belonging to the people forced their way into the Chamber, and placed themselves right under the tribune.

The Duchess of Orleans then rose, and taking the young Princes by the hand, led them to the range of seats forming the pourtour behind the Deputies, and still exactly in front of the President. The Duke de Nemours and the Duke de Montpensier placed themselves in the last line of seats, immediately behind the Princess and her sons. The greatest agitation prevailed in every part of the Chamber, and it was a moment after increased by the public tribunes being rushed into by another body of the people.

M. Dupin then ascended the tribune, and amidst deep silence said—In the present situation of the capital and the critical circumstances in which the country is placed, the Chamber was bound to assemble immediately. The King has just abdicated. (Sensation.) He has disposed of the Crown in favour of his grandson, the Count de Paris, and has constituted the Duchess of Orleans Regent. (Applause from all the benches of the Centre, and from some of the public tribunes, and with loud disapprobation on the left.)

A Voice from one of the Tribunes—It is too late!

An agitation, impossible to be described, here arose. A number of Deputies collected round the Duchess of Orleans and the rest of the Royal group. National Guards without ceremony came and mingled with the Deputies who had done so.

M. Marie ascended the Tribune, but was obliged to remain there a length of time without being able to obtain a hearing. At last, silence being restored, he said—Gentlemen, in the situation in which Paris now is, it is both necessary and urgent for us to adopt some measure which may have some authority with the population. Since this morning the evil has made much progress. (Hear, hear.) What course will you take? Just now the Duchess of Orleans was announced as Regent; but a law exists which gives the Regency to the Duke de Nemours, and you cannot, at the present moment, pass a law to revoke it. What must be done is to nominate a Provisional Government—(loud cries from the left of "Hear, hear,")—not to give institutions, but to consult with the two Chambers on the necessity of satisfying the wishes of the country.

M. Cremieux—In the interest of the public safety a great measure is necessary. It is important that every one should be of the same mind to proclaim a great principle, and to insure to the victorious people serious guarantees. Let us not do as in 1830, since it has been found necessary to commence again in 1848, what was then done. (Applause.) We cannot at the present moment do more than establish a Provisional Government. (Cries of "No, no!") I have the greatest respect for the Duchess of Orleans; (Cries of "Bravo, bravo!") and I just now conducted the Royal family to the carriage which bore them away.

A Voice—*Bon voyage!* (Murmurs.)

M. Cremieux—The population of Paris has shown the most profound respect for the King's misfortune, but we who have been sent here to enact the laws cannot violate them. A law already voted disposes of the Regency, and I cannot admit that it can be abrogated at this moment. Since we have come to the point of undergoing a Revolution, let us confide ourselves to the country. I propose a Provisional Government of five Members. (Numerous voices in the Tribunes—"Yes, yes.")

The Abbé de Genoude ascended the tribune, and was about to address the Chamber, when M. O. Barrot entered.

Numerous voices—"O Barrot to the tribune. Let O. Barrot speak!"

The Abbé de Genoude—I have only a word to say. (M. O. Barrot, who had ascended the Tribune, signified his acquiescence, and remained standing with his back against the President's bureau.) The Abbé said—You cannot effect anything without the co-operation of the people. You tried it in 1830, and you see what has come to pass.

M. O. Barrot—Never have we had need of more coolness and patriotism. May we be all united in one sentiment—that of saving our country from the most dreadful of visitations—a civil war. (Applause.) Nations, I am aware, do not die; but they become weak from intestine dissentions, and France never had more need than now of all her force—of the aid of all her children. Our duty is clearly traced out—it calls on us to unite ourselves to what is most generous in the heart of the nation. The Crown of July rests on the head of a child and a woman. (Loud marks of assent from the greatest part of the Chamber,—great disapprobation from the public Tribunes.) It is a solemn appeal.

The Duchess of Orleans here rose, and pronounced some words which we could not catch. The persons near her appeared to recommend her to sit down.

M. O. Barrot—It is in the name of the political liberty existing in our country, of the necessities of order which have occurred to every one's mind, of the union and accord which ought to reign amongst all good citizens, that I call on all my colleagues to support this double representation of the revolution of July. (Renewed assent and disapprobation as before.) I would give my life one thousand times to ensure the triumph of the cause of liberty in my country—

The Marquis de Larochejaquelin—You do not know what you are doing.

M. O. Barrott—Can it be that any one can imagine that what was decided by the revolution of July can be again called in question? (Great agitation.) Gentlemen, the work, I allow, is difficult, but there are such elements of generosity, greatness, and good sense in this country, that it suffices to appeal to them to induce the whole population to rally round the standard I display. (Murmurs in the Tribunes.) Our duty is simple—it is traced out by the laws and by honour. If we do not fulfil it with firmness, I cannot say what the consequence will be; but be certain of this, that whoever should dare to incur the responsibility of a civil war, would be in the highest degree culpable towards his country. (Hear, hear.) For my part, what I conceive to be most fitting for the situation is this—the Regency of the Duchess of Orleans, a Ministry chosen from the most tried opinions, and an appeal to the country, which will pronounce with full liberty, in an extent sanctioned by law. Such is my opinion, and I cannot consent to assume the responsibility of any other situation. (Applause.)

The Marquis de Larochejaquelin—Gentlemen, I feel the most profound respect for what there is painful in the position of certain persons. I am, perhaps, more than another called on to defend the people and liberty. But I must reply to M. O. Barrot that I cannot have here the intention of upholding a particular opinion; that honourable gentleman has not comprehended the sentiment which animates me. Gentlemen, here you are nothing—

Loud cries from all sides of "Order, order!"

The President—M. de Larochejaquelin, you are sinning against the respect due to the Chamber. I call you to order.

The Marquis de Larochejaquelin—When I affirm that you are nothing, I do not mean to say that the Chamber is annulled.

A person, not belonging to the Chamber, M. Chevallier, editor of the Bibliothèque Historique, here ascended the tribune. (Great confusion.)

M. Chevallier—I shall speak with the greatest moderation. ("You have no right to be there.") Beware of proclaiming the Count de Paris without being authorized to do so; but if the Duchess of Orleans and the young Count have sufficient courage to go along the boulevards, in the midst of the people and the National Guard, I answer for their safety. If the people will not consent to confer on him the Crown—

Voices in the crowd—"Vive la Republique!"

M. Chevallier—What you have now to do is to give us a Government, and to give it at once; you cannot leave a whole population without magistrates, without directing heads. (The noise prevented the voice of the speaker from being heard.)

At this moment a vast crowd broke into the Chamber. They were dressed in the most heterogeneous manner, some in blouses with dragoons' helmets on their heads; others with cross-belts and infantry caps; others again in ordinary clothes, but all with arms—swords, lances, spears, muskets, and tri-coloured flags. These persons at once seized on such Deputies' seats as were unoccupied, several even ascended the tribune, and fixed themselves there. The President perceiving what had occurred, and in order to mark his disapprobation, as well, perhaps, as to signify that the sitting could not go on under such circumstances, put on his hat. This created a dreadful uproar, and numerous cries "Off with your hat, President!" were heard from the new comers. Several of them even directed their muskets at him. The scene was of almost unimaginable violence.

M. Ledru-Rollin, from his place, overpowering the tumult with his voice—Gentlemen, in the name of the people, I call for silence!

A number of the Deputies, appearing to consider their position perilous, began to withdraw, and as they abandoned their places, the crowd took possession of them. The tumult was tremendous, and many Deputies looked with anxiety towards the Duchess of Orleans and her children. She, however, sat calm amidst the uproar.

M. Ledru-Rollin, after some time succeeded in making himself heard—In the name of the people, (said the honourable Deputy,) I protest against the kind of Government which has just been proposed to you. (Immense applause, cries of "Bravo, bravo!" from the new comers, and their comrades in the public tribunes—the shouts were deafening.) This is not the first time that I have thus protested; already in 1842 I demanded the Constitution of 1791. (Cheers.) That Constitution declared that it should be necessary to make an appeal to the people when a Regency bill was to be passed. (The loudest applause.) I protest, therefore, against the Government that it is attempted to establish. I do so in the name of the citizens whom I see before me—who, for the last two days, have been fighting, and who will, if necessary, again combat this evening. (From every side cries of "Yes! yes!" cheers with brandishing of arms, and in some cases raising of muskets to the shoulder; indescribable tumult.) I demand in the name of the people that a Provisional Government be named. (Great applause.)

M. de Lamartine—Gentlemen, I shared in the sentiments of grief which just now agitated this assembly in beholding the most afflicting spectacle that human annals can present—that of a Princess coming forward with her innocent son, after having quitted her deserted Palace, to place herself under the protection of the nation. But if I shared in that testimony of respect for a great misfortune, I also share in the solicitude—in the admiration which that people, now fighting during two days against a perfidious Government for the purpose of re-establishing order and liberty, ought to inspire. (Great applause from the tribunes.) Let us not deceive ourselves—let us not imagine that an acclamation in this Chamber, can replace the co-operation of 35,000,000 of men. Whatever Government be established in the country, it must be cemented by solid, definitive guarantees! How will you find the conditions necessary for such a Government in the midst of the floating elements which surround us? By descending into the very depth of the country itself, boldly sounding the great mystery of the right of nations. (Great applause in the tribunes.) In place of having recourse to these subterfuges, to these emotions, in order to maintain one of those fictions which have no stability, I propose to you to form a Government, not definite, but provisional—a Government charged, first of all, with the task of stanching the blood which flows, of putting a stop to civil war, (cheers,) a Government which we appoint without putting aside anything of our resentments and our indignation; and in the next place a Government on which we shall impose the duty of convoking and consulting the people in its totality—all that possess in their title of man, the right of a citizen. (Tremendous applause from the people in the tribunes.)

At this moment a violent and imperative knocking was heard at the door of an upper tribune, which was not entirely filled. On the door being opened a number of men rushed in, well provided with arms, and who appeared to have just come from a combat. Several of them forced their way to the front seats, and pointed their muskets at the Deputies below. Some of these weapons were also turned in the direction of the Royal party.

Immediately the persons near the Duchess of Orleans seemed to address her energetically, and a moment after she rose, and, with her sons the two Princes, quitted the Chamber by a door on the extreme left.

M. Sauzet at the same moment withdrew from the President's chair, and nearly all the Deputies who had remained quitted their places. The noise and disorder at this moment were at the greatest height.

Shortly after, silence being somewhat restored,

M. Ledru-Rollin said, According as I read out the names, you will say "Yes" or "No," just as they please you, and in order to act officially I call on the reporters of the public press to note down the names and the manner in which they are received, that France may know what has been done here. (The Hon. Deputy then read out the names of MM. Dupont (de l'Eure,) Arago, De Lamartine, Ledru-Rollin, Garnier-Pages, Marie, and Crémieux; all of which were received with acclamations.)

Cries of "To the Hotel de Ville!" here arose. followed by a cry of "No Civil List," and another of "No King!" Some one having directed the attention of the crowd to the picture of Louis Philippe swearing obedience to the Charter, cries of "Tear it down!" arose. A workman, armed with a double barrelled fowling-piece, who was standing in the semicircle, cried out, "Just wait until I have a shot at Louis Philippe!" and at the same moment both barrels were discharged. (Great confusion ensued, in the midst of which two men jumped on the chairs behind the President's seat, and prepared to cut the picture to pieces with their sabres.)

Another workman ran up the steps to the tribune, and exclaimed:—"Respect public monuments! respect property! Why destroy the pictures with balls? We have shown that the people will not allow itself to be ill-governed; let us now show that it knows how to conduct itself properly after its victory." (Great applause.)

The next instant M. Dupont (de l'Eure) took possession of the chair. M. de Lamartine and Ledru-Rollin attempted severally to obtain a hearing, but unsuccessfully. Several of the National Guards, and some of the people, also made similar attempts, but without effect. A cry then arose in one of the Tribunes of "Let Lamartine speak!" and at once all the others took it up.

M. de Lamartine.—A Provisional Government will be at once proclaimed. (Enthusiastic cries of "Vive Lamartine!")

Other voices.—The names! the names!

M. Crémieux, amidst great tumult, said, it is essential that silence be restored, in order that our venerable colleague M. Dupont (de l'Eure,) may read to you the names you wish to learn.

As the tumult, which had lulled for a second whilst the honourable Deputy was speaking, recommenced just as violently as ever, the names were written down on a sheet of paper, and that, being placed on the end of a musket, was so paraded about the Chamber.

M. Ledru-Rollin (in the midst of the noise)—A Provisional Government cannot be organized in a light or careless manner. I shall read over the names aloud, and you will approve of them, or reject them, as you think fit.

In the midst of shouts and cries the honourable Deputy read out the names, but nothing could be heard. Nearly all the Deputies had by this time departed, and the National Guards and the people had the Chamber to themselves.

M. Ledru-Rollin.—We are obliged to close the sitting in order to proceed to the seat of Government.

From all sides—"To the Hotel de Ville! *Vive la République!*"

This most extraordinary sitting was then brought to a conclusion at 4 o'clock.

The people withdrew in the utmost tumult.

The London Examiner of the 4th of March, publishes the following article as editorial. No one familiar with the style of Thomas Carlyle, can hesitate in pronouncing it his, though he has never been announced as the editor of that paper.

THE ABDICATION OF LOUIS PHILIPPE.

It is not a light joy, such as can express itself in vain talk, in bluster, mockery, and "tremendous cheers;" it is stern, almost sacred joy, that the late news from Paris excites in earnest men. For a long melancholy series of years past, there has been no event at all to excite in earnest men much other than weariness and disgust. To France least of all had we been looking, of late, for tidings that would elevate and cheer us. Nor is the present terrible occurrence properly great or joyful, as we say, it is very sad, rather; and as death, and human misery and sin; yet with a radiance in it like that of stars; sternly beautiful! symbolic of immortality and eternity!

Sophist Guizot, sham-king Louis Philippe, and the host of quacks, of obscene spectral nightmares, under which France lay writhing, are fled. Burst are the stony jaws of that enchanted, accursed, living tomb; rent suddenly are the leaden wrappages and cerements; from amid the noisome clamm and darkness of the grave, bursts forth, thunder-clad, a soul that was not dead, that cannot die! Courage; the righteous Gods do still rule this earth. A divine Nemesis, hidden from the base and foolish, known always to the wise and noble, tracks unerringly the footsteps of the evil-doer; who is Nature's own enemy, and the enemy of her eternal laws, whom she cannot pardon. Him no force of policy, or most dextrous contrivance and vulpine energy and faculty, will save: into his own pit, he at last, does assuredly fall,—sometimes, as now, in the sight and to the wonder of all men.

Alas, that any king, or man, should need to have this oldest truth, older than the world itself, made new to him again, and asserted to be no fable or hearsay, but a very truth and fact, in this frightful manner! To the French nation and their kings it has been very impressively taught, under many forms by most expensive courses of experiment, for sixty years back; and they, it appears, and we, still require new lessons upon it.

Very sad on all sides! Here is a man of much talent, of manifold experience in all provinces of life, accepting the supreme post among his fellow-men, and deliberately, with steadfast persistance, for seventeen years, attempting his high task there, not in the name of God, as we may say, but of the enemy of God! On the vulpine capabilities alone had Louis Philippe any reliance;—not by appealing, with courageous energy and patience, to whatever was good and genuine and worthy around him (which existed, too, though wide-scattered, and in modest seclusion, rather than flagrant on the house tops); not by heroic appeal to this, but by easy appeal to what was bad and false and sordid, and to that only has he endeavoured to reign. What noble thing achieved by him, what noble man called forth into beneficent activity by him, can Louis Philippe look back upon? None. His management has been a cunningly devised system of iniquity in all its basest shapes. Bribery has flourished; scandalous corruption, till the air was thick with it, and the hearts of men sick. Paltry rhetoricians, parliamentary tongue fencers; mean jobbers, intriguers; every serviceablest form of human greed and low-mindedness has this "source of honour" patronized. For the poor French people, who by their blood and agony bore him to that high place, what did he accomplish?—Penal repression into silence; that, and too literally nothing more. To arm the sordid cupidities of one class against the bitter unreasonable necessities of the other, and to leave it so,—he saw no other method. His position was indeed difficult; but he should have called for help from Above, not from Below!

Alas, in his wide roamings through the world,—and few have had a wider ramble than this man—he had failed to discover the secret of the world, after all. If this universe be indeed a huge swindle? In that case, supreme swindler will mean sovereign ruler: in that case—but not in the other! Poor Louis Philippe; his Spanish marriages had just prospered with him, to the disgust of all honourable hearts; in his Spanish marriages he felt that he had at length achieved the topstone which consolidated all, and made the Louis Philippe system, (cemented by such bribery mortar, bound by such diplomatic tie-beams) a miracle of architecture, when the solid earth, (impatient of such edifices,) gave way, and the Eumenides rose, and all was blazing insurrection and delirium: and Louis Philippe "drove off in a brougham," or *coucou* street cab, "through the barrier of Passy,"—towards night and an avenging doom. Egalité Fils, after a long, painful life voyage, has ended no better than Egalité Pere did. It is a tragedy equal to that of the sons of Atreus.

Louis Philippe one could pity as well as blame, were not all one's pity concentrated on the millions who have suffered by his sins. On the French people's side, too, is it not tragical? These wild men in blouses, with their faces and their hearts all blazing in celestial and infernal lightning, with their barricades up, and their fusils in their hands,—they are now the grandsons of the Bastilers of '89, and the Septembers of '92; the fathers fought in 1830, they in 1848 are still fighting. To the third generation it has been bequeathed by the second and the first; by the third generation the immense problem, still to solve, is not deserted, is duly taken up.—They also protest with their heart's blood against a universe of lies; and say audibly, as with the voice of whirlwinds, "In the name of all the Gods, we will not have it so! We will die rather; we and our sons and grandsons, as our fathers and grandfathers have done. Take thought of it therefore, what our first transcendant French revolution did mean; for your own sake and for ours, take thought, and discover it, and accomplish it, for accomplished it shall and must be, and peace or rest is not in the world till then!"

"The throne was carried out by armed men in blouses; was dragged along the streets and at last smashed into small pieces," say the Journals. Into small pieces: let it be elaborately broken, pains be taken that of it there remain nothing;—"Begone thou wretched upholstery phantasm; descend thou to the abysses, to the cess-pools, spurned of all men, thou are not the thing we required to heal us of our unbearable miseries; not thou, it must be something other than thou?" So ends the "Throne of the Barricades;" and so it right well deserved to end. Thrones founded on iniquity, on hypocrisy, and the appeal to human baseness cannot end otherwise.

When Napoleon, the armed soldier of Democracy, as he has been called—who at one time had discerned well that lies were unbelievable, that nations and persons ought to strip themselves of lies, that it was better even to go bare than "clothed with curses" by way of garment; when Napoleon, drunk with more victory than he could carry, was about deserting this true faith, and attaching himself to Popes and Kaisers, and other entities of the chimerical kind; and in particular had made an immense explosion of magnificence at Notre Dame, to celebrate his *Concordat* (the cow-pox of religion, *la vaccine de la religion*, as he himself privately named it,) he said to Augereau, the fencing master who had become Field Marshal, "Is it not magficent?" "Yes, very much so," answered Augereau, "to complete it, there wanted only some shadow of the half million of men who have been shot dead to put an end to all that."

"All fictions are now ended," says M. Larmartine, at the Hotel de Ville. May the Gods grant it. Something other and better, for the French and for us, might then try, were it but afar off, to begin!

INCIDENTS OF THE REVOLUTION.

We cull from various sources some anecdotes related of the late Revolution in France, which will interest our readers.

A correspondent of the Evening Mirror says:

On the Thursday a lady whom we know had a little child dying. She was kneeling beside it, when a crowd forced open the doors to ask for arms. They penetrated to the room where the lady knelt by the cradle, and instantly these fifty men knelt too, and prayed for the safety of the child: then they all departed quietly, writing on the walls outside as they went away, "Respect this house; for death is here." * * * * * * Mr. S. has been in the thick of everything, and I assure you it is highly interesting to hear his account. He enrolled himself as one of the National Guard, and has for his exertions received the thanks of the Provisional Government in General, and M. de Lamartine in particular—Lamartine, you know, is one of my heroes.—Ah! he is indeed a very noble man. During the first days of the Provisional Government, they led a hard life of it—the people who were pleased as children with a new toy, would surround the Hotel de Ville, crying, "Hola Provisional Government!—What's the Provisional Government doing now, I wonder." So then a proclamation had to be given them. "Oh, but," says one man, "I saw that down in the town an hour and a half ago." "Oh dear," the rest will say, "a whole hour ago! nothing since then! Oh! what an idle Government!!" So then to pacify them, another little proclamation is issued and they go away delighted, only to re-commence an hour later. * * * * * The Duchesse d'Orleans and her little children had great difficulty in escaping, and the Duc de Nemours tearing off his uniform, jumped from the window, to escape the people. Never was there so cowardly, so ignominious a flight. Louis Philippe and the Queen took a low coupe on the Place de la Concorde, and set off, full speed, towards St. Cloud, and in the hurry forgot the Duchesse de Montpensier, who, poor little thing, ran about for an hour in that vast crowd, half dead with terror; at last a gentleman who recognized her, sent her off by the Boulogne railway under the care of Gen. Thierry. The young Dukes seemed only to care for themselves; when the King fled, instead of giving any orders for the safety of the Municipal Guard about the Chateau, they thought of nothing but taking care of their own skin, utterly regardless of the safety of their young wives, who were left wandering alone and unprotected.

The "Constitutionnel" says:—"The citizen Chalon d'Argé, one of the Special Commissaries appointed by the Minister, after having concerted with Captain St. Amand, Commandant of the Tuileries, proceeded to an inventory of the jewels, objects of art, &c. found there. These gentlemen soon ascertained that the people had respected the various articles scattered about. The apartment of the Duke of Nemours had alone been thrown into disorder, but nothing was taken away. The apartments of the other members of the royal family remained intact. Not a picture was touched in the saloons of the late Duke of Orleans, containing as they did, a celebrated collection. The most valuable pictures were taken to the Louvre, under the direction of M. Mérimée. A great quantity of coined money was found in the different apartments; a man of the people conceived the idea of throwing all this money into a bagnoire, over which he placed a coverlet, so as to give it the appearance of a couch. He then placed himself on it, and waited in that position until some persons came up who could save the treasure which he had collected. To give an idea of the wealth thus preserved, we may state that on Saturday alone four fourgons, and on Sunday two others, transported to the Treasury masses of silver plate, as well as coffers containing the diamonds of the ex-princesses. In these fourgons there was property to the amount of several millions. The same people who had contributed to save these valuable articles helped to pack them up, and escorted them to the National Treasury. It was a touching sight to see these hard hands taking up, with the greatest precaution diamonds, necklaces, and jewels of all kinds. It is useless to say that not an article in the inventory was missing. When M. Bastide and M. Bixio, who had been entrusted by the Provisional Government to take charge of the jewels and other valuable property left behind in the Tuileries, and which had been collected and packed up by men of the people, and an inventory taken of them under the superintendence of a student of the Polytechnic School and a National Guard, the Government Commissioners found the chests, trunks, and other packages in which they had been placed, under the charge of some of the people who had been employed in collecting them. When the whole were removed, one of the men went up to M. Bastide, and said, 'Sir, we have been forgotten since yesterday. It is now twelve o'clock, and we have not yet had anything to eat. Can you order us some bread."—All present were deeply affected by this proof of disinterested fidelity in men, resisting the temptation of property at their command greater in value than any they had ever before seen, and demanding a piece of bread as their only reward. M. Bastide repeatedly urged the man who spoke to him to give his name, but he constantly refused, saying,—"We want nothing more. We can earn our food by our labour. To-morrow we shall return to work, and to-day ask only for the bread we have been unable to obtain." They were then fed and took their departure with the same resolution."

A procession of ladies, children, and well-dressed men, was seen to pass through the Rue de la Paix, the Place Vendome, the Rue de Rivoli, and the quays, to the Hotel de Ville. It appears that Mme. Mallet conceived the idea of placing the charitable institutions in favour of children under the patronage of the nation. In consequence, she and her friends determined to proceed publicly to the Provisional Government, and to intimate to it the opportunity which presented itself of doing a work of benevolence. Accordingly, that lady, the Princess de Beauveau, the Duchesse de Marmier, Mme. de Lamartine, the Marquise de Vareilles, &c. set out, holding by the hand children of both sexes.—Amongst the men, were the Curé of Saint Louis d'Antin, a Rabbi, and a Protestant minister. A considerable crowd accompanied them, and a number of the National Guard. Banners were displayed, bearing the inscriptions of "The Union of all Religions for Charity," "Maternal Education." "Let little children come unto me," &c. Along the whole way marks of the liveliest sympathy were exhibited, and the enthusiasm became still greater as the procession approached the Hotel de Ville. The ladies who had conceived this benevolent idea were at once, on their arrival there, introduced into the room where the Provisional Committee were sitting, and had the satisfaction of finding their request immediately acceded to.

One of the most affecting incidents of the day of the 24th, was the following:—In the quarter of the Panthéon the people demanded arms with loud cries. A lieutenant of the 12th Legion penetrated, at the head of some National Guards followed by an immense crowd, into the barracks situated in Rue du Foin, and occupied by the 7th Regiment of the line; the Colonel of the regiment advanced to persuade the people to withdraw; they attempted to disarm him; and the old soldier, who had gained his position by his sword, shed tears of mortification at seeing himself under the necessity either of submitting to an insult, or of giving orders to fire on the people. The lieutenant of the National Guard, touched with his grief, cried, "No, you shall not be disarmed if I can prevent it; but, Colonel, give us some muskets and ammunition, they are massacreing our brethren, and we desire to protect them." He hesitated a moment, and then ordered that twelve muskets and some packets of cartridges should be given to the crowd. No sooner had he given the order than the old soldier, owing to the great emotion he had suddenly felt, fell to the ground as stricken by apoplexy. Hewas immediately raised, and after being twice bled, recovered.

We find the following in one of the journals:—"During the heat of the late contest, an armed man was caught in the act of stealing a silver spoon. Immediately the brave men who were fighting with him, perceiving what he had done, said,—'You do not belong to our cause—we disavow you. Down on your knees this instant—and we will show you how we treat thieves!' At the same moment five balls struck him, and he fell dead."—The following is from the 'Presse:'—"A young girl was present at the last massacre of the Municipal Guard of the post of the Place de la Concorde, which fired on the 5th Legion. There remained only one of these unfortunate men. 'Mdlle.' cried M. de V——, commandant of the firemen, 'you may save this man!' 'What must I do? I am ready!'—'Throw yourself into his arms, and claim him as your father!' The young girl threw herself at the same moment into the arms of the Municipal Guard, and, weeping, cried, 'Gentlemen, in the name of God, spare my father, or kill me with him!' At the same moment the muskets of the assailants were lowered, and the Municipal Guard, protected by his liberatress, was saved."

The correspondent of the "Times" says:—"The King, when he left the Tuileries with the Queen, drove off to St. Cloud at such a rate that when they had crossed the bridge the horse was too exhausted to mount the hill leading to the Chateau. Several men pushed the carriage up, however. After taking some papers, the King entered a hackney coach at St. Cloud, and drove off to Versailles, and thence to Trainon. He, in a short time, entered a travelling carriage, but before leaving the park he saw at a distance, approaching towards him, six men on horseback, and became afraid that they were in search of him. He therefore ordered the coachman to stop, alighted, and ran into a guard-house at the gate of the park, near the railroad station, (Montretout,) and concealed himself behind a stove. The men having passed, an aid-de-camp informed him that there was no danger. He accordingly re-entered the carriage and drove off. The Duchess of Orleans, after leaving the Chamber of Deputies on Thursday, proceeded with her children to the Invalides, where they passed the night. At five o'clock next morning they left in a hackney coach, accompanied by an aid-de-camp of the Governor of the Invalides, (Marshal Molitor.) It is said that she left Paris only on Wednesday, and that she would be accompanied to the frontier by a distinguished member of the Provisional Government, (M. Marrast, it is said.) M. Duchatel is supposed to be in Paris. M. Guizot is, they say, in London."

The "National" also gives the annexed particulars in a letter from Dreux:—"The King arrived at Dreux on Thursday, the 24th, at half-past eleven in the evening, accompanied by the Queen, the Duchess of Nemours, and her children. On his arrival at Versailles, Louis Philippe and his suite, not finding any post-horses, was obliged to ask for horses from a regiment of cavalry. His flight had been so rapid and unforeseen, that he was forced to make at Trianon a collection among the officers, which produced 200 francs; it was with this sum that he was enabled to reach Eu, where he embarked for England, and where he will find the millions sent abroad by his providence. They there preserved the strictest *incognito*, until the name of the King was accidentally pronounced by the only footman who accompanied them. Their only suite consisted of two *femmes de chambre*. Towards one o'clock the Duke de Montpensier arrived, announcing the hopeless fall of the whole family. They were all struck with consternation at this news. The King and his family quitted Dreux on Friday, the 25th, at nine o'clock in the morning. In order to conceal their departure, the footman, who occupied the box, had put off his livery, and was clothed in a redingote and other garments bought two hours before. The under-prefect attended the carriage at its leaving the town, and was seated on the box next the footman. The gendarmes of Saint-Andre having demanded, whilst changing horses at their place, who were the persons inside the carriage, the under-prefect immediately got off the box, whispered to them for a moment, and the gendarmes instantly retired. The King had hardly crossed the forest of Annette, when the workmen from a neighbouring paper-mill arrived on the road with the intention of stopping him."

A letter from Dreux, in the "Union" says: "Louis Philippe arrived in the Chateau here on the 24th, at eleven in the evening. A supper was sent out for amongst the public eating-houses of the town. He was accompanied by the ex-Queen Marie Amélie and the Duke de Montpensier. He slept at the chateau, after having sent for the sub-prefect and some intimate acquaintances. He was in a state of complete prostration, and repeated each moment, 'Like Charles X!' He left the next morning in a hired carriage, and by bye-roads from Vernon. It is said here that his passage through this latter town was not effected without obstacles."

A deaf lady, living in apartments at the Tuileries, heard nothing of the *emeute*, when she was surprised reading by the entry of the people. When she recovered herself they told her she must quit the palace, but should be escorted whither she pleased, and might take her clothes and jewels with her, and leaving her to pack up her things they locked her door and placed a guard before it. Three hours later they returned to take her away, when one of her large boxes, badly corded, came open, and all her things fell out; they packed it again for her, and marched away with three drums in front and a strong guard, and deposited her and her property at the house of one of her relations.

The following is from the *National*:—"The flight of Louis Philippe was marked by an incident which does so much honour to the feelings of our population, that we hasten to mention it. At the moment the ex-King was escaping by the little low doorway nearly opposite the bridge, and going into the voiture that waited for him, he found himself surrounded by the people. Two cuirassiers stationed in the Place de la Concorde rushed to his protection, and this brave regiment, without however using their arms, opened a passage. An officer, seeing the danger, cried out, 'Messieurs, spare the King.' To which a stentorian voice replied, 'We are not assassins—let him go.' 'Yes, yes; let him go—*qu'il parte*' became the general cry. The people have been too brave during the combat not to be generous after the victory."

The *Democratie Pacifique* relates the following incident: —"On taking the Tuileries the people found a magnificent image of Christ, in sculpture. The people stopped and saluted it. 'My friends,' cried a pupil of the Ecole Polytechnique, 'this is the Master of us all!' The people took the Christ and bore it solemnly to the church of St. Roch. 'Citizens, off with your hats. Salute Christ!' said the people; and everybody inclined on a religious sentiment. Noble people, who respect all that is sacred. Noble people, who bless the Being who proclaimed the law of universal fraternity!"

The King, on landing, (in England,) was habited in a green blouse and blue overcoat, borrowed from the captain of the Express. As a friend of the writer expressed himself, on his being asked what the party brought with them, "the King had not so much baggage as he could carry in his pockets—in fact he had not a change of clothing."

Gleanings from Foreign Publications.

SALARIES OF THE ROYAL FAMILY OF ENGLAND, &c.—The following are the annual sums allowed from the public money to her Majesty, the different branches of the royal family, and for the support of the royal household, or officers of State:—The Queen, her Majesty's privy purse, besides Buckingham Palace, St. James's Palace, Windsor Castle, and the Royal Pavilion, Brighton, £68,000; salaries of the great officers of the royal household and officers of State, and of the establishments of the various departments of the household, including retired and superannuation allowances to old servants in those departments, £131,280; expenses of the household in the departments of the Lord Chamberlain, Lord Steward, Master of the Horse, and Mistress of the Robes, £172 500; royal bounties and charities, and special service, &c. £23,000; pensions, £7,500; unappropriated money, £8,040; total, £470,000. His Royal Highness Prince Albert, consort of her Majesty, being his privy purse for secret services and other offices, £40,000; Ernest, Duke of Cumberland, now King of Hanover, with Kew Palace, £21,000; his Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, £21,000; Prince George of Cambridge, £6,000; Princess Augusta Caroline, his sister, married June 28, 1844, to his Royal Highness Frederick William, Hereditary Grand Duke of Mecklenburgh Strelitz, £5,000; her Royal Highness Mary, Duchess of Gloucester, relict of the late Duke of Gloucester, £13,000; her Royal Highness Princess Sophia, with Greenwich Palace and Park, £13,000; the trustees of his Majesty Leopold, King of the Belgians, as widower of her late Royal Highness Princess Charlotte, daughter of George the IV. with Claremont Palace, £50 000; her Majesty Adelaide, the Queen Dowager, relict of King William IV. beside the Royal Manor and Palace of Hampton Court, the Park and domains of Bushy, and also Marlborough House in Pall Mall, two parks and three royal palaces, £100,000; her Royal Highness the Duchess of Kent, mother of her Majesty, with Frogmore Lodge, Windsor, £32,000; the Duchess of Inverness, relict of his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, £10,000 per annum, with Kensington Palace.

REWARDS OF LITERATURE.—Stowe, the famous historian, devoted his life and exhausted his patrimony in the study of English antiquities; he travelled on foot throughout the kingdom, inspecting all the monuments of antiquity, and rescuing what he could from the dispersed libraries of the monasteries. His stupendous collections, in his own hand-writing, still exist, to provoke the feeble industry of literary loiterers. He felt through life the enthusiasm of study, and seated in his monkish library, living with the dead more than with the living, he was still a student of taste; for Spenser, the poet, visited the library of Stowe, and the first good edition of Chaucer was made so chiefly by the labours of our author. Late in life, worn out by study and the cares of poverty, neglected by that proud metropolis of which he had been the historian, yet his good humour did not desert him; for being afflicted with sharp pains in his aged feet, he observed that "his affliction lay in that part which formerly he made so much of." Many a mile had he wandered, many a pound had he yielded, for those treasures of antiquities which had exhausted his fortune, and with which he had formed works of great public utility. It was in his eightieth year that Stowe at length received a public acknowledgment of his services, which will appear to us of a very extraordinary nature. He was so reduced in his circumstances, that he *petitioned* James I. for *a license to collect alms* for himself, "as a recompense for his labour and travel of *forty-five years* in setting forth the Chronicles of England, and *eight years* taken up in the survey of the cities of London and Westminster, towards his relief, now in his old age, having left his former means of living, and only employed himself for the service and good of his country." Letters patent under the great seal were granted. After a penurious commendation of Stowe's labours, he is permitted "to gather the benevolence of well-disposed people within this realm of England; to ask, gather, and take alms of all our loving sub